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ABSTRACT

The papers contained in this volume were presented at a conference which focused on the problems faced by black women. The papers address socioeconomic, educational, occupational, and health issues, as well as stressing the special counseling needs of this population. It should be noted that each of these papers is individually cited and abstracted in the ERIC system (see note). Also included in this volume is a statistical appendix which reflects the educational and occupational status of black women in the United States. (GC)

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CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF BLACK WOMEN

DECEMBER 16-17, 1975

COMPENDIUM

VOLUME 2: RESEARCH PAPERS

APRIL, 1978

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Women's Research Program
Jean Lipman-Blumen, Head

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The barriers to educational and occupational equity for women are nowhere more apparent and poignant than in the context of the minority woman's life. The minority woman -- Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Asian-Pacific Island, and White Ethnic -- faces the double burden of sex and race/ethnic discrimination. Some of the barriers she confronts stem from at least two divergent sets of socialization processes: those within her minority culture and those emanating from the majority milieu. Other obstacles exist for her in the social, economic, legal and political institutions of our heterogeneous society. To compound the problem, many minority women live out their days within the confines of poverty or near poverty.

In view of the very special problems that minority women face, the Women's Research Program at the National Institute of Education has developed a program initiative to address their educational and occupational needs. As an initial step in this programmatic effort, we have held a set of conferences to establish a much-needed dialogue among researchers, practitioners, grass-roots people, activists and policy makers. A major goal of the conference was to establish a policy-oriented research agenda which the Women's Research Program at the National Institute of Education, as well as other agencies and private foundations, could address over the next several years.

Anyone who has coordinated a conference knows it is accomplished through the work, intelligence and advice of many people whose names rarely appear in print. This conference was no exception. Without the help of many colleagues, the conference could not have accomplished its mission. Several individuals made major contributions that gave a special character to the conference. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and her staff helped us from the earliest moments of formulation and throughout the entire process. Ms. Shirley Downs, from Congresswoman Chisholm's staff, offered us a largesse of knowledge about issues and people, steered us around many pitfalls, and spent many hours working on the endless details of our project.

Dr. Gloria Scott and Ms. Gladys Handy served as charismatic chairpersons and later as synthesizers of the papers that form the compendium. Dr. Elizabeth Koontz and Dr. Joan Harris were invaluable members of the leadership teams that ran the conference.

The Women's Research Program is indebted to all the devoted, willing and talented people who helped make the conference and the compendium possible. I personally feel privileged to have had the opportunity to work with and learn from them. My firm belief is that the only appropriate way N.I.E. can repay the generosity of all the people who labored in this effort is to address seriously, systematically and swiftly the recommendations at which the conferees arrived. I have every faith that we shall.

Jean Lipman-Blumen, Ph.D.
Head
Women's Research Program

CONTENTS

	Page
Socialization and Education of Young Black Girls in Schools Sara Lawrence Lightfoot ..... UDO 18516	3
Toward Full Equality: More Job Education for Women Pamela Ann Roby ..... UDO 18517	33
Professional Schools and Their Impact on Black Women Ethelrine Shaw ..... UDO 18518	71
Counseling Implications of Black Women's Market Position, Aspirations and Expectancies Patricia Gurin and Anne Pruitt ..... UDO 18519	87
Baseline Data on Mid-Career Change and Reentry for Black Women Beatrice Abel Cossey and Glen O. Toney .... UDO 18520	155
Black Women Who Head Families: Economic Needs and Economic Resources Isabel V. Sawhill ..... UDO 18521	169
Policy Issues on Day Care: The Special Needs of Black Working Women Betti S. Whaley and Toye B. Lewis ..... UDO 18522	183
Health Issues Facing Black Women Inez Smith Reid ..... UDO 18523	203
The Media and Their Effect on Black Images Beth Rawles ..... UDO 18524	227
Appendix: Educational & Occupational Statistics on Black Women Compiled by Edmina C. Lee	255

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION

OF

YOUNG BLACK GIRLS IN SCHOOLS

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

CULTURAL IMAGES AND DISTORTIONS

Young black girls are an ignored and invisible population. One of the great struggles with documenting the early experience of black girls in school is that they have not been the focus of the agenda of social science research. As one reads through the literature in search of some mention of the special identity and experience of black girls in school, one is struck by the black slate. Classroom research does give us prototypic images of white boys and girls and black boys. White boys are described as aggressive, initiating, and dominant, less likely to conform to the demands of a highly structured and controlling environment than their female counterparts. White girls are likely to be described as the perfect, obedient students who adapt easily and smoothly to the social norms, psychological constraints and cognitive demands of school. Black boys are considered hyperactive, disobedient, withdrawn, and lazy--the extreme deviants of an orderly environment. But images of black girls--no matter how distorted or ethnocentric--do not present themselves in the literature on teachers and children in classrooms.

It would be misleading indeed to focus on the young black girls invisibility in classroom research as a peculiar methodological phenomenon. Their shadowy status in the literature is a reflection of the more general cultural orientation towards young black girls. They are a human resource who do not even deserve social and cultural imagery. As a matter of fact, they have not even been awarded the negative and perjorative stereotypes that correspond to their black brothers. The stereotypic images of black females do not become formalized until they reach maturity as women. This is a reflection of the socio-economic and socio-psychological agenda for black women. They are the black mammies, the all-giving and nurturant being who nurse and coddle the offspring of the aristocrats. Their social purpose--the dependency of the upper classes on their subservient and giving role--clarifies the need for cultural images and myths.

Black girls are not even thought to be the embryonic expression of black women stereotypes nor the miniature form of their mothers. Minimal attention is given to the early stages of black female development nor to the path she has had to traverse to maturity--only to the culmination of her [illegible] development, the hardened and fixed images of many generations of restrictive and prejudicial stereotyping. The cultural myths about black women in our society are obviously important in the socialization of young black girls. The myths and legends shape the young girls' identities, form important sources of identification, and provide critical barriers to the full expression of their individual and unique potentials. Historically, cultures have generally defined three images of womanhood--those who nurture, those who provide sensual pleasure, and those who convey social wisdom. The unifying element in all three images is their close identification with organic life and its perpetuation. Women, that is, have a special capacity to mediate between biology, history, and social change. It is the special role of women to provide a connection to the past and to move towards the future (Lifton, 1964).

The black woman shares the three general identities of all women--that of nurturer, temptress, and social knower--but she also encompasses other images that reflect her special role in the social and historical development of this country. The black woman is strong, patient and enduring. She is mother earth who nurtures and gives love to the children of Miss Ann and then goes home abused and tired to care for her own little black children. She is sapphire, sexy, brash, and callous with long fingernails that dig deep and leave scars. She is liberated, aggressive, and competitive. She knows too well the feeling of work and for too many years has been responsible for putting the bread on the table.

As one begins to explore the stereotypic images of black women, one recognizes some inherent contradictions of imagery. In her development, the black girl is not only faced with distorted and unrealistic stereotypes of black women, but also with stereotypes that bare no rational connection to one another. These contrary stereotypes provide confusing and conflicting sources of identity for young black girls.

Contradictory images about black women and family life pervade our social consciousness and are often rationalized and objectified by social science literature. For instance, one of the dominant contradictory themes pictures, on the one hand, the black woman as heading a disorganized and chaotic family, and on the other hand the black woman as primary manager and competent organizer of upper-class households.

Patrick Moynihan set the popular tone for the former stereotype when he asserted "the Negro family in the urban ghetto is crumbling." The myth is that there is no permanent male figure in the household and the numerous unkept children all have different fathers who wander in and out of the slovenly apartment. The mother is promiscuous, on welfare, and unconcerned about her children's social, intellectual, or health needs. Child discipline is punitive, yet at the same time the children are in trouble in school or with the police because their mother does not care about or discipline them enough. She is too ignorant and culturally deprived to provide sufficient intellectual stimulation for the children to acquire even the most basic verbal or social skills.

In contrast, the black woman is also seen as a strong, competent matriarch. Her child-raising skills, her nurturant "mammy" nature are sufficient for her to be considered not only competent but highly suitable for the job of raising upper-class white children. Her domestic abilities are great enough for her to organize and clean middle and upper class households.

Another contradiction of imagery portrays the black woman as unfeminine, lacking in fine and cultured beauty, and the black woman as a sexually provocative and exciting being. In American culture the ideal "feminine" woman is seen as dependent, submissive, incompetent, and impractical. A strong autonomous woman is considered sexually unattractice and frightening to men. While the recent feminist movement may be raising

our consciousness about the meanings of femininity, the strong black woman has never met the cultural ideal of a woman. Femininity, as defined by the stereotype, was an economic and social luxury she could not afford. Yet she has also been thought of as a temptress, a sex object who was free with her favors, a complement to the image of the black stud. She may not have been a "lady", but she was the masculine vision of a sexually compelling woman. It is critical that social science confront these contrary visions, for part of the task of understanding the experience of young black girls is to disentangle the myths and realities about black women.

This paper will focus on two potential sources for discovering the educational experience of young black girls in school.* The first source is the literature on the teacher's relationship with young girls (both Black and white) in the classroom and the second source will look at the teacher's characteristic interactions with black children (both boys and girls) in the classroom. There is some hope that an overview of each of these research themes might provide some information about the special experiences of young black girls in classroom settings. It would be simplistic, however, to construe the experience of black girls as being an additive combination of the documented experience of Blacks and girls. The processes of socialization, learning, and growth are far too complex to make that claim.

As a matter of fact, one of the great misconceptions of social science is its view of identity formation in black women. Black women are seen as experiencing the double, additive burden of racism and sexism. There is also a notion that they must necessarily experience some sort of impaired and disjointed self-image because they are torn by the conflicting pulls of Blackness and womanhood. This dichotomous, polarized vision of the black woman's identity is misleading and partial. It also leads to images of black women as conflicted and divided people rather than resourceful, strong people with various sources of identification. For black women, the sources of identification are multiple, the forces shaping identity complex, and the developmental patterns adaptive, continuous and changing over time. It is important, therefore, not to construe the realities of black women in simple, additive terms, but to look at the processes of integration and elaboration among the various sources of identity.

With this in mind, my presentation of these two sources of data on Blacks and girls in classroom social systems, should not be considered a portrayal of the young black girls' experience, but rather a picture of the research literature that focuses on the experience of two relatively powerless groups (girls and Blacks) and a presentation of what that might indicate about the socialization of black girls in their early schooling.

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* In this paper, I will limit my discussion to the first years of formal schooling and only refer to the earlier patterns of familial socialization or the later experiences of adolescence and young adulthood as sources of contrast and comparison.

I. SEX AND SCHOOLS

Although American public schools have been co-educational for more than 100 years now, they still do not prepare boys and girls equally for life. Schools are influenced by and help to maintain the values and norms of our total society, and one of these norms is sexism. Structures and behaviors which reinforce traditional sex roles pervade our educational system from the preschool to the post-doctoral level. In order to document the specific ways in which school systems contribute to the development of sex differences and stereotypes, it is necessary to confront a number of basic assumptions related to the nature of sex differences and the origins and consequences of these differences.

It is generally accepted by educators and scientists as well as by the general public that there exist basic differences between the sexes. These differences appear in the areas of personality, behavior, attitudes, goals, interests and achievement. In a very recent survey, for example, Inge Broverman (1972) found that stereotypes about the differing characteristics of men and women are still pervasive and persistent among adults in our society today. Specifically, men are seen as possessing such personality attributes as independence, objectivity, logic, competitiveness, worldliness, self-confidence, ambitiousness, and leadership and decision-making capabilities. Women are perceived as lacking in the above traits, but endowed with attributes such as gentleness, sensitivity, tact, neatness and tenderness. These widespread beliefs are supported by a massive body of research on differences in personality and achievement between men and women. Study after study has shown that girls are more passive, conforming, suggestible and dependent than men.

Expectations about behavioral differences between men and women extend to the area of intellectual performance. Girls are believed to be more verbal than boys, and boys to be better at math and science. These beliefs are borne out by the scores of girls and boys on high school achievement tests. A fact that is generally lost, however, is that in the pre-school years, girls test either higher than boys (in general intelligence, verbal ability and number ability) or the same as boys (in spatial ability, analytic ability, and creativity). However, by the middle elementary school years, boys score consistently higher on all these tests than girls (with the exception of grammar, spelling and word fluency), and this trend accelerates throughout adolescence and adulthood. What happens in this period between pre-school and high school to cause these differences?

In considering the above research on sex differences, it is important to be aware of the influence of experimental bias. The observation and testing of sex differences, even when conducted under the most carefully controlled conditions, inevitably involves the whole problem of expectations. Experimenters and researchers start with certain hypotheses as to the nature of men and women, and their expectations may have a significant effect on

the construction of their experiments and research and consequently on the results received or perceived. For example, aggression is a character trait traditionally linked with the male sex and measured in terms of overt physical activity. Aggression, thus defined, is being thought of in terms of the typical activity and behavior of boys. Are girls really less aggressive than boys? Or have they simply been socialized to express their aggression in more subtle, oblique and less easily recognizable ways (e.g., through words or interpersonal manipulation)?

A second important issue is the context in which research on sex differences has been conducted and interpreted. Traditional psychologists and sociologists looking at sex differences have accepted those differences as a given and have not looked in any detailed way at the environmental influence on gender role or at possible alternative definitions for sex roles. Rather, they have used the possession of these differences as a measure of healthy social and emotional adjustment. The large amount of cultural institutions as facilitators of sex roles and sex differences. This has become a subject of concern to some investigators only very recently.

SEX-DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS

The problem of sex-discrimination in schools is not a recently-invented one, but rather is a problem with which educators and sociologist have been concerned for several decades now. However, some of the earliest research (conducted in the mid-fifties and early sixties) tended to focus on boys as the victims of discrimination, claiming that they were being emasculated by schools and penalized for their inability to conform to a feminine environment. A major proponent of this view is Patricia Sexton, who as recently as 1969 wrote a book entitled The Feminized Male. Sexton expressed her concern that our society has "turned education over to women and feminized males" and encouraged the development of school systems where young boys' "normal male impulses are suppressed or misshappened by overexposure to feminized males". To combat this problem, Sexton advocates a school program directly aimed at the needs and interests of boys, a "masculinized co-educational program."

I would agree with Sexton that the societal pressures on boys to be "masculine" (i.e., aggressive, ambitious, and independent) combined with the traditional school demands on boys to be conforming and obedient create a conflicting and confusing message for boys. The socialization and adjustment difficulties resulting from this conflict are evident in the greater number of young boys than girls referred to child guidance centers and in our adolescent delinquency rates, which are notoriously higher for young men than for young women. Further evidence of the stress accompanying the demands made by the assigned male sex role was gained from a survey of 8-11 year old boys by Ruth E. Hartley (1974). Hartley solicited the feelings of these young boys as to what they had to know, what they had to be able to do, and what they were expected to do in the future.

The responses clearly indicated that the boys felt they had to assume a great burden in order to fulfill the male role adequately. They viewed the female role as much more limited and easy. As a result of these pressures and rigid role demands, many young boys develop an anxiety about their adequacy in the whole area of sex-role behavior which expresses itself in overstraining to be masculine, frequent and intense hostility toward the female sex and anything associated with femininity, and great concern about being caught doing anything defined as feminine.

Although Sexton recognizes that schools discriminate against boys she tends to minimize the effects of the school socialization process on girls. While the demands of schools for obedience and conformity may result for young girls in a double-barrelled message: both at school and at home they are trained to be docile and conforming. Seen from this point of view, schools may be judged more guilty of "feminizing" girls than "feminizing" boys. Added to this "double" training of young girls in femininity is the fact that the attributes associated with the female sex role (i.e. gentleness and passivity) are not valued in this society as highly as the traits associated with the male sex role (i.e. independence and ambition).

The enforcement of rigid sex-role behaviors in schools can lead to serious emotional and intellectual consequences for young boys and girls. While boys are too often over-anxious about failing and concerned about constantly "proving" themselves, girls are too often lacking in positive self-concepts and concerned with the consequences of succeeding. These internal concerns and motivations have a subsequent effect on intellectual performance and the acquisition of differential skills in boys and girls. Eleanor Maccoby (1966) observed from a review of the literature that optimal intellectual performance is directly related to cross-sex-typing--i.e., men and women who score highest on ability tests tend to share more of the interests and traits normally characteristic of the opposite sex. It appears that a reduction of the differential treatment of boys and girls would be highly beneficial in terms of both the emotional health and the intellectual functioning of both sexes.

THE CLASSROOM AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Although there has been a general recognition among social scientists that schools reinforce and sustain sexual differentiation, few accounts exist of the specific behavioral and interactional patterns that foster sex-role development. Sociologists who have been concerned with describing the classroom as a social system have primarily emphasized the relative objectivity and fairness of the classroom environment. In his article "The School Class As A Social System" Parsons claims that the main structural differentiation within the classroom develops on the single main axis of achievement (1959:72):

> The school is the first socializing agent in the child's experience which institutionalizes a differentiation of

status on a nonbiological basis. Moreover, this is not an ascribed status; it is a status "earned" by differential performance of tasks set by the teacher.

Four components define the relative impartiality and objectivity of the status structure within the classroom, which is experienced by the child as being strikingly different from her or his egocentric, child-centered existence before entering school: (1) equalization of contestants by age; (2) sharp distinction between the power of teachers and children; (3) imposition of a common set of tasks; and (4) relatively systematic process of pupil evaluation. Dreeben (1968) and Eddy (1967) emphasize the customary ordering of behavior and relationships within the school whereby one may become meaningfully related to the "public world of corporate systems". Both authors are concerned with identifying the structural characteristics of the school that define it as a transitional institution between family life and later participation in the occupational and political world. The roles allocated to children are evaluated primarily in terms of their contribution to some future status rather than reflecting full membership in the present society.

Although the Parsonian analysis recognizes the contribution of social status dimensions to teacher valuation of achievement, he still regards achievement as a relatively objective, fair, equalizing measure that is the single status dimension in the classroom. Even though the ascriptive component is recognized, it seems to me inaccurate to consider achievement the all-encompassing determinant of school success. That approach underestimates the need to carefully analyze the dimensions of ascription and which status characteristics the teacher regards as necessary prerequisites for successful school performance.

Parsons, therefore, thinks of the classroom as essentially liberating--a place where children can rid themselves of the shackles of sex, family, culture, and race and prove themselves anew as achievers or non-achievers. More specifically, Parsons identifies the school as a transitional and preparatory envionment that stratifies children on the basis of explicit and visible achievement criteria, but he never confronts the experience of boys and girls within this environment. Even when he considers the development of rules governing social interactions within classrooms, he neglects the differential socialization of boys and girls as a powerful dimension of analysis. Boys and girls are not perceived as assuming different social or political positions in the social structure of classrooms.

Social scientists, in general, have echoed the Parsonian analysis, giving more or less emphasis to the determining force of race, social class, and ethnicity to the experience of children in classrooms. They have given compelling descriptions of the classroom as a place where children learn the appropriate behavioral patterns for their future social and occupational roles. But, for the most part, they have avoided considering the status dimensions of the society into which children will enter. If teachers seek to adequately prepare children for assimilation into the mainstream culture,

then it is likely that their rules of social interaction within the classroom will mirror the pervasive pattern of male domination and control in the larger society.

One of the most obvious ways our society categorizes people is on the basis of sex, but for the most part, social scientists have ignored these sexual categories as potential determinants of child-level experience. Sociologists studying the social structure of classrooms have described the emergence of status patterns without analyzing the nature of the conditioning experienced by boys and girls and without explicit reference to the social roles that will be available to them as adults.

Methodological approaches have reflected the theoretical analysis of school as a liberating force in the lives of children. For the most part, classroom research on teacher-child interactions has ignored intraclass individual differences in teacher-child communication patterns. Classroom observational systems, which define the class as the unit of analysis, make two assumptions which are of questionable significance:

1. that teacher-child interactions are most appropriately conceptualized as interactions between the teacher and the class as a group, rather than as individual communications between teacher and child;

2. that the class mean on a particular aspect of teacher behavior is representative of how the teacher interacts with each of the pupils.

The first assumption is called into question when one considers the literature on classroom observations in which children differing in social status, achievement level, or sex, regularly differ in the type of communications they have with their teachers (Davis and Dollard, 1940; Becker, 1952; Jackson and Lahaderne, 1970; Spaulding, 1963). The evidence from this research seems to indicate that the class mean is not an accurate measure of how teachers relate to individual children or identifiable subgroups of children. Teacher warmth, teacher directedness, supportiveness, teacher approval; all attributes that have been typically studied from an entire-class perspective are variable of teacher behavior which are usually directed towards individual children rather than the class as a group.

The dyadic method of studying teacher-child interaction patterns not only reveals individual differences, it also allows researchers to decipher clear patterns of sex differences within classrooms. In an article entitled "Inequalities of Teacher-Pupil Contacts", Jackson and Lahaderne (1970) showed that the experience of school is clearly very different for boys than for girls.* In four sixth grade classrooms (with

* The authors claim that this fact is obvious to even the most casual observer, "but the frequency with which sex is ignored in educational research would lead one to suspect otherwise" (p. 102).

two male and two female teachers) in the same school, boys received more than their share of managerial interchanges (rules, regulations, routines) and prohibitory messages (misbehavior and deviance) while there seemed to be no clear pattern of sex differences in the findings on instructional messages (work-related material).

Jackson and Ladaherne's study is consonant with the few other studies that have explored sex differences in classrooms (Meyer and Thompson, 1956; Spaulding, 1963; and Brophy and Good, 1970b). On the basis of this research, it is clear that boys receive more behavioral criticism in classrooms. They also appear to be more aggressive in general and have more interactions of any kind with teachers. When a pupil is not called on, it is more likely to be a girl and student-initiated contacts are usually in favor of boys. This evidence of differential treatment of boys and girls, however, gives us only partial information about the quality of life in classrooms because it does not consider the perceptions and perspectives of the children who are experiencing the classroom environment. This lack of interest in child-level experience is one of the prominant patterns of classroom research.

In one of my own studies (1972), the responses of children to a sociometric interview showed marked differences in the status choices received by boys and girls in two second grade classrooms. I was interested in the children's perceptions of the classroom social structure revealed through their choices of classmates along several significant status dimensions (achievement, leadership, trustworthiness, attractiveness, honesty, etc.) Children were not only asked to indicate the name of their chosen classmate but also give the reasoning and perceptions behind their choice. The data indicated that the response patterns of children show early socialization into sex-appropriate roles.

It is interesting to compare responses of children in both classrooms to two questions which asked them for their choices of tutor (who would you choose to help you with your school work?) and leader (who would you choose as president of this class?).

	Classroom A		Classroom B	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Tutors	9	18	15	12
Leaders	17	10	18	9

One cannot help but suspect that children in both classrooms had already been socialized to the traditional sex-role patterns of boys as dominant, natural leaders and girls as scholarly, submissive followers. The reasons that children gave for their choices gives one insight into how a child reached the status of class leader and how he was able to maintain his superior position. It is possible to categorize these reasons into two groupings:

(1) leadership gained through teacher preference or assuming the role of surrogate teacher.

(2) leadership gained through tactics of fear, threat, and oppression of one child over his classmates.

In neither case did leadership emerge because of a child's superior honesty, intellect, goodness, but was seen as leadership gained through making classmates submit to a greater power or authority--be it the teacher's choice of monitor or the self-selection of a tough guy.

The perspective of children offers a rich and important dimension to our understanding of the differential experiences of children in classrooms. Even though the teachers, both women, were considered to be the center of power in the classrooms and even though children perceived the leader as one who imitated the teacher behavior and mirrored her characteristics, the majority of choices were given to boys. The males were seen as dominant in a classroom controlled and supervised by a woman.

In discussing the creation of classroom social systems, researchers have, amazingly enough, avoided considering the sexuality of the central person. This is not to say that most of us have not noticed that the great majority of teachers of young children are women. A few researchers have even pointed to the fact that boys appear to be more salient in the eyes of the teacher. But social scientists need to ask more searching questions about the impact of women taking dominant and powerful positions in the classroom social system. An analysis of these issues must include the dimension of sexuality in the teacher's interaction with boys and girls. Does her position of authority have a different impact on boys and girls? How does she use her sexuality, her powers of nurturance to accomplish her educational goals for the children? Does it seem confusing to children that the woman teacher dominates their world behind the classroom door while men control the teacher (i.e., the principal, her husband) in the outside world?

The methodological strategies used by researchers have not permitted a careful and systematic analysis of the quality of life for boys and girls in the classroom. Quantitative tabulations of teacher behavior have reduced experience to those variables which are easily observed and counted and given little indication of the real message being communicated by the teacher. For the most part, researchers have documented the teacher's relationship to the class as an undifferentiated group of children rather than deciphering her communication to individual children or indentifiable subgroups of children. And researchers have talked about teacher-child interaction patterns without considering the perceptions and experience of children.

Each of these methodological choices made by researchers has permitted them to ignore individual differences and differential socialization based on sex. In a sense, the strategies have assumed a kind of homogeniety of child characteristics and an equality of responses on the part of the teacher. Thus the methods are consonant with the preservation of our American Dream, the myth of equality of opportunity for all.

FAMILY-SCHOOL DISSONANCE

Many of the same theoretical models and methodological strategies that appear in the sex-role literature are also found in the studies on racial discrimination in classrooms. Here, too, the myth of equality seems to pervade the discriminating visions of social scientists and shape the nature of their inquiry. In the research on Blacks, however, the legend of justice and opportunity is expressed somewhat differently. Instead of assuming no differentiation between subgroups within classrooms (as in most of the sex-role literature), researchers place the source of racial and cultural differences outside the school and legitimize the teacher's unequal behavior on the basis of already established patterns of deprivation and deviance found in families and communities. The teacher's behavior is explained as a rational and legitimate response to varying ability and achievement patterns reflected in black and white children.

Researchers have searched for the source of the black child's low achievement and poor acculturation in school by focusing on the dissonance between family lifestyle and the school environment. Much of the literature on the early cultural deprivation of black children rests on unquestioned and longstanding assumptions about child development and the socialization of cognitive modes in children. Hess and Shipman's experimental work on language development and expressive styles of black children reflect these basic assumptions and is a classic example of the modes of inquiry used by social science researchers. The authors claim that lower-class black children experience irreversible cultural deprivation because there is a lack of cognitive meaning in the mother-child communication system. They distinguish between the communication styles of lower-class and middle-class mothers, asserting that middle-class mothers offer a range of alternatives for thought and action (elaborated verbal cues) while lower-class mothers give predetermined solutions and few alternatives for consideration and thought (restricted verbal cues). Hess and Shipman use these two examples of a middle-class and lower-class mother preparing their children for the first day of school:

> Middle-class mother: "First of all I would remind her that she was going to school to learn, that her teacher would take my place, and that she would be expected to follow instructions. Also that her time was to be spent mostly in the classroom with other children and that any questions or any problems that she might have she should consult with her teacher for assistance. To tell her anything else would probably be confusing for her at this age."

> Lower-class mother: "Mind the teacher and do what she tells you to do. The first thing you have to do is be on time. Be nice and do not fight. If you are tardy or if you stay away from school your marks will go down. The teacher needs your full

cooperation. She will have so many children she won't be able to pamper any youngster." (Hess and Shipman, 1970, pp. 177-78)

According to Hess and Shipman these excerpts reflect a disparity in the quality and style of language and in the amount of instructional vs. imperative information. More importantly, on the basis of this early experience lower-class children are poorly prepared to approach the task of learning in school while middle-class children develop into assertive and reflective learners.

The Hess and Shipman data was gathered in a laboratory setting where black mother-child dyads were directed to engage in pre-established cognitive games and their patterns of language interaction were recorded and analyzed. Mothers and children were asked, therefore, to enter an unfamiliar and alien setting, given an experimental task of meaningless social significance, and observed and evaluated by strange adults. No observations were taken in the naturalistic settings where mothers and children usually interact with one another and the data show correlations, not causality, between child-rearing practices and achievement.*

Even if we ignore the many ideological and methodological problems connected with this study, we must ask to what realities are mothers socializing their children. It would appear that both mothers are equally oriented towards the constraints and demands of school for their children. In schools, it is more likely that lower-class children will be rewarded for passivity and compliance while middle-class children will be rewarded for being creative, resourceful, and assertive. (Rist, 1970; Leacock, 1971)

The problem of language difference created by schools is intensified when one recognizes that language is not only a way of discerning intellect and communicating information; it is a medium of culture, a way of signifying one's membership in the community. In an article entitled "Illiteracy in the Ghetto", Jane Torrey (1970) makes this point by distinguishing between the structural aspects of language (i.e., phonology, grammar, and semantics) and the functional aspects of language (i.e., the personal and cultural functions of language). She asserts that the functional aspects of language have more serious implications than the structural ones. The language of black children, therefore, is symbolic of social and cultural deviance and becomes the basis of hostility on the part of teachers and a rejection of the whole educational process by children.

The experimental models and theoretical assumptions used by Hess and Shipman have been echoed in the literature on the cognitive development and achievement patterns of black children. One of the dominant themes of this research is the abuse of mothers. They are accused of giving inadequate cognitive stimulation, creating disorderly and chaotic home

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* For an excellent critique of the developmental literature on lower-class black children see Boratz and Boratz "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism", Harvard Educational Review, Feb. 1970, 40 (1):29-50.

environments, offering restrictive and punitive demands, and devaluing education for their children (Martin Deutch, 1963). No attempt is made to understand the sources of their behaviors and attitudes nor to explore the structural and institutional forces that impinge on their lives and shape their relationships with their children. It seems much easier and less threatening to define the inadequacies of the dyadic and individualistic relationship between mother and child than to question the inequities and injustices of the society. Within the literature on family-school dissonance, therefore, we find the sexist tradition of blaming mothers for the perceived inadequacies of their children, for the perpetuation of their own poverty, and for the creation of social deviants and societal chaos.

Kenneth Clark's work provided an important transition from focusing on the inadequacies of ghetto life to looking at the structural and interactional patterns within schools that do not provide supportive, nurturant and receptive environments for poor black children. In Dark Ghetto (1965), Clark focused on the rejection and hostility that poor children suffer in white, middle-class oriented schools and proposed changes in teacher behaviors, attitudes, and competencies which would be supportive of the child's self concept. Most importantly, Clark rejected the class-bound, pejorative tradition of social scientists and recognized the danger of thinking of lower-class life as a self-contained system which would draw our attention away from the imposition of wider society. Despite his compassionate and insightful analysis, however, Clark still did not present the Harlem Community in terms of its own social order, cultural idiom, or lifestyle. Harlem is described less in its own right than by comparison with everything that is non-Black and non-slum.

DIFFERENCE AND DEVIANCE WITHIN THE CLASSROOM

The notion of the self-fulfilling prophesy has been a resounding theme in the literature on the teacher's interactions with children from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds. This literature has been primarily concerned with documenting the strong relationship between the teacher's expectations of a pupil's academic performance and the actual performance of that pupil. More broadly, researchers have traced the powerful effect that a teacher's conscious and unconscious values, attitudes, and expectations toward students have on her classroom behavior and teaching style and subsequently on the academic and social achievement of her pupils. Although researchers have recognized the potentially positive impact of teacher expectations, much of the evidence for the self-fulfilling prophecy in education has come to have predominantly negative connotations. The teacher is seen to be the all-powerful, central figure who determines the life chances of her defenseless children, sometimes making the critical judgments in the first few hours of the school year.

Much of the research on the discriminatory behavior of teachers in classrooms looks at differences related to the social class background of children but fails to document the racial composition of the class.

Although one must not always conclude that the lower-class children referred to in these studies are from minority backgrounds, it is probably safe to infer some parallels with the majority black experience from these data. Even though many of these studies do not refer explicitly to race, they document some of the basic sources and expressions of discrimination within classrooms. More importantly, they underscore the various layers of analysis that must be employed in order to understand the complex and subtle structural and interactional forces at work in racial discrimination.

Social scientists, asserting the assymetric power of teachers and children, have focused on teachers as the primary judges of deviance and on the forces that shape their judgments. These judgments, in turn influence the social and cognitive learning that is consciously or unconsciously transmitted to pupils. For example, in his study of classroom interaction patterns, Jules Henry (1957) claimed that the significant aspect of teacher-child communications is the transmission of value orientations from teacher to child. The learning of values does not necessarily proceed through didactic teaching but through systems of reward and punishment. The values that are transmitted depend on the teacher's value orientation, which in turn is determined by her social class identification.

In a study based on interviews with large numbers of teachers in Chicago, Howard Becker (1952) analyzed the responses of teachers to children from different social class backgrounds. Becker claimed that the teacher's perception of the child's ability to do school work determined the differences in actual teaching technique.

> The teacher expects that the amount of work and effort required of her will vary inversely with the social status of her pupils...Such consequences of the teacher's differential reaction to various class groups obviously operate to further perpetuate those class-cultural characteristics to which they object in the first place.

In this very perceptive study, Becker was vitally interested in the motivations behind the discriminatory behavior of teachers. He recognized the profound impact of the teacher's self image on her perceptions of children. Not only did middle-class teachers find it difficult to develop effective pedagogical strategies for translating the intellectual content to lower-class children; not only did teachers have a hard time disciplining these children; but they also seemed deeply offended by slum children. "In terms of physical appearance and condition lower-class children disgust and depress the middle-class teacher." On the other hand, the responsiveness and similarities of middle-class children made the teacher feel successful and rewarded in her work and increased her self-esteem as a competent professional. The actions, behaviors, and values of middle-class children were familiar, non-threatening, and anticipatable while lower-class children were viewed as disruptive and threatening strangers to the middle-class teacher.

In other words, Becker perceived that teachers have human needs for support and reinforcement and if they are deprived of these, they are likely to project their negative feelings onto the less powerful children. The teacher's feelings and perceptions about the abilities of children in her class are largely a reflection of how successful she feels at making them learn. In focusing on the teacher as a whole person with needs of her own, Howard Becker began to uncover some of the complexities and dynamics of teacher discrimination.

In Pygmalion in the Classroom, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) brought to light the possibility that teachers may act differently towards those students for whom they have high achievement expectations than from those for whom they have lower expectations. In this experiment, teachers were given false information about their students' potentials. The students whom the teachers were led to believe would "bloom" in their academic performance, actually did score higher on standardized tests than the other students. The investigator's explanation for these differences in performances was the differences in the teachers' expectations for students which presumably led to differences in the teacher's treatment of them in the classroom.

How are differential expectations communicated in teacher-child relationships? Brophy and Good (1970) explored differential teacher behavior within actual first grade classrooms. The teachers were asked at the beginning of the school year to rank their students in order of their academic achievement, and this constituted teacher expectancy. The six ranked highest formed the high achievement group, and the six ranked lowest formed the low achievement group. Observers recorded the dyadic interactions between the teachers and these experimental students along several variables. The data indicated several significant behavioral differences between the members of the two groups and between the actions of the teachers towards each group. It was found that high achievers sought out the teachers and initiated interactions more frequently than the low achievers; the teachers criticized the low achievers more; teachers gave feedback more frequently to the high achievers and were more persistent in eliciting responses from them; and finally, the high achievers scored better on standardized tests at the end of the year. The authors conclude that teacher expectancy predicts objective measures of classroom performance, objective achievement test scores and rates of teacher praise and criticism.

The idea that teachers behave differently toward students whom they perceive as differing in academic potential is a highly plausible hypothesis about real-life classroom experiences although several investigations have failed to confirm the experimentally induced "Pygmalion effect" (see Flemin and Anttonen, 1971, for a recent review). A related question is how these expectations are formed by the teachers in the first place. It is not surprising that the factors so far alleged to be determinants of teacher expectancy of student ability are social class and race. Rist (1970) clearly demonstrated this relationship in his report of observations made in an all black ghetto school (the teachers were black as well). On the eighth day of kindergarten he observed the teacher segregating her

students by tables, apparently defining the groups by social dimensions such as the children's physical appearance, interactional behavior, use of language, and family socio-economic variables. She labeled one group as "fast learners" and the others as "slow learners" and then proceeded to discriminate systematically in favor of the first group and against the others. The fast learners received much more encouragement, priase and instruction, and privileges from her, while the slow learners were far more often controlled and ridiculed. Moreover, the children themselves internalized the teacher's invidious comparison; the fast learners adopting her tactics of belittlement and contempt toward the slow learners, the latter deflecting their resentment and shame from the aggressors onto each other. Rist demonstrated that the teacher's initial expectancies and consequent discriminating pattern of behavior not only profoundly affected the students' academic performance throughout the kindergarten year, but worse than that, it provided teachers in the later grades with "objective" evidence which became the basis for further discrimination. It is not far-fetched to conclude that these children's chances for academic and occupational success were substantially set in the first eight days of school.

The Rist study made a significant contribution to the research literature because it provided an analysis of the factors that are critical in the teacher's development of expectations for her pupils and the documentation of the process by which such expectations influence the classroom experience of teachers and children. Another important contribution of Rist's observations underscored the need to consider the expectations that children have of one another. Rist's teachers established discriminatory patterns that were mirrored and magnified by the behavior and attitudes of children in the classroom. Low status children even began to reflect attitudes of self-degredation and violence within their own group. It is also entirely conceivable that children might not imitate patterns initiated by the teacher, but engage in behaviors that conflict with those of the teacher. If one is to understand the impact of expectancies initiated by the teacher, therefore, one must also explore the complicated network of relationships among children.

In Teaching and Learning in City Schools, Leacock (1969) was interested in exploring the teachers' assumptions about desirable patterns of socialization for children of different backgrounds. She observed fifth grade classrooms in middle and low income white schools and in middle and low income black schools and contrasted the teacher attitudes and behavior within these schools. In comparing the white and black schools, Leacock found a marked difference between teacher attitudes and behavior with regard to organizing the classroom for leadership and responsibility. The teacher in the middle-income white school placed a strong emphasis on student independence and self-reliance (although the responsibility given was clearly nominal and often superficial). In the low-income black school, Leacock found a more relaxed and cooperative atmosphere, but an emphasis on discipline and obedience and a lack of explicit learning goals.

In looking at the differences in the teacher's attitudes and aspirations for children in schools with contrasting student populations, Leacock raised

the important issue of the effects of the school and community environments on the teacher. In the anthropological tradition, Leacock asserted that we must not view the teacher discriminatory behavior as an isolated phenomenon that relates only to interactions between the teacher and the child.

> "...the way the teacher structures both her relations with the children and their relations with each other sets up a behavioral model for them, the implications of which extend far beyond the classroom. To some extent the goals she states for children and those she implies through her management techniques relate to her individual style, but for the most part they must conform to school patterns which, in turn, relate to general social expectations." (p.117).

Expectations pervade the entire school population and researchers must seek to identify the role of social and behavioral norms found in schools that greatly influence the individual teacher's conception of the ideal and successful student.

All of these researchers look at the teacher's differential behaviors through different methodological filters--attempting to document the multi-dimensionality of the phenomenon. However, they are limited to some extent by the behaviorist traditions of social science. In my own work (Lightfoot 1972, 1973, 1975) I have tried to respond to the fact that most research on sex and race discrimination in classrooms is not concerned with analyzing the origins of teacher behavior or the impact of environmental variables and social context on life inside the classroom. For a long time, clinicians and practitioners have been very interested in understanding the motivational roots of human behavior. In the psychoanalytic tradition they have probed the personal histories of people in an attempt to better interpret their present behaviors.

Ironically, most educational researchers have neglected to recognize and document the psychodynamic origins of behavior but have followed the behaviorist model of looking at visible and countable behaviors. They have been content to represent life by describing actions and interactions and in the process they have often ignored the character, motivations, attitudes, and values of the people who are acting. Using the behaviorist model, actors are thought of as one dimensional human beings whose behavior is controlled and modulated by patterned rewards and punishment.

More specifically, teachers are viewed as empty vessels, technicians who perform specific and deliberate behaviors. Children are seen as essentially passive beings to be shaped and controlled by their more thoroughly socialized teachers. For the most part, the literature on teacher discrimination is no exception to the general behaviorist orientation of educational research. Even those who have been interested in documenting the interactional behaviors within classrooms have not sought to describe and analyze the forces within and surrounding the teacher that shapes the way she differentially responds to children.

I have been interested in describing how the teacher's world--her personal, cultural, and educational history, her values, attitudes, beliefs and goals, her professional skills and experience--influence the pedagogical and procedural decisions, the dynamic patterns of interaction, and social structure that develop in the classroom. A central theme of my work has been the analysis of discriminatory patterns of teacher behavior in the use of authority, power, evaluation, and cognitive stimulation. When the teacher responds to a child's behavior, she necessarily perceives this behavior through the filter of pre-established social categories. The same child behavior may be given a different interpretation depending on who the child is and what he represents to the teacher. A black boy racing across the classroom may be seen as aggressive and hyperactive, while a blond, willowy girl doing the same thing may be seen as gliding across the classroom space in a creative and expressive dance. The teacher communicates her differential judgments and perceptions of children through audible and visible interactions as well as covert, imperceptible messages that have a powerful impact on the lives of children in the classroom. A primary challenge of my work, therefore, has been to develop various methods for documenting teacher values and feelings that are silently and ritualistically communicated to children. Thus, in order to gain a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of racism and sexism in the classroom, future research will have to analyze more than interactions. We will also have to focus on the psychodynamic, socio-cultural, and structural forces that shape the values and behaviors of teachers and children.

In the literature I have reviewed we find no explicit attention given to the experience of black girls. As a matter of fact, the literature portrays the experience of a narrow range of children. Almost automatically, sexism becomes synonymous with the experience of white middle class girls. (The Eric files of 1974 have 60 articles on sex differences and black children are involved in only 3 of them. Of the 75 articles about sex discrimination, Blacks are referred to in only two of them). The lack of interest in documenting the sexism experienced by poor and minority groups reflects the general focus of the feminist movement on the lives of white middle-class women. Implicit in this exclusive orientation is the notion that only the affluent can afford the luxury of sexual identification--a black girl cannot expect to linger on the subtleties of how she is perceived as a female when she is scrapping to respond to the more blatant inequities of racism.

Most of the literature on racism in schools shows the same narrow stereotyped vision but the focus is on the inadequacies and deviance of lower-class black children. The success and accommodation of middle-class black children is usually given minimal attention. The range and variety of human values, attitudes, and behaviors within black culture is neglected by focusing on the poor and by defining their behaviors in individualistic and motivational terms. In his book, Culture of Poverty, Elliott Liebow (1968) talks about the tendency for social science researchers to enmesh cultural difference with poverty and deviance. Culture begins to take on

a pejorative connotation as it becomes linked with poverty and race and the whole essence of inequality. By attributing a distinctive cultural system to the poor, researchers have tended to isolate poverty cultures and focus on the alleged motivational peculiarities of the poor (self-indulgence, inability to defer gratification), rather than consider the various responses of people to the structural characteristics of the stratified social system as a whole.

III. THE BLACK GIRL AS CHILD

The young black girl suffers from being unchildlike in middle-class terms. Childhood, as it is known in Western society, is a relatively modern invention, only a few hundred years old.* Childhood has come to be seen as more than the biological fact that human beings are born small, helpless and inexperienced, and then grow slowly in size and competence. By the Victorian era, it had become fashionable to view children as innocent, incompetent, irresponsible, and dependent. But this was a view which only the middle and upper-classes could afford to put into practice, since it called for the separation of children from the general life of the community and constant care, protection and supervision to enforce this separation--nannies, servants, schools and large houses. The poor children could not afford these expressions of childhood, just as their mothers could not afford to be stereotypically feminine and submissive. The women were then thought of as being poor mothers, as providing unsuitable homes for their children, and the children were thought of as unnatural, unchildlike, deviant, and deprived of cultural, social and intellectual advantages--deprived in fact, of their childhood.

Middle class 20th century parents are not as sentimental about the innocence of children, but as children have become less economically advantageous to the middle-class (in fact, have become a major economic and emotional burden), they have developed another use, as "love object."** In our culture, middle-class children, expecially girls who are supposed to be more affectionate, learn to respond as love objects, to repress their own dignity and autonomy. The middle-class ideal of a little girl, the perfect love object, is an affectionate, cuddly little blond-blue-eyed angel; there was a reason why Shirley Temple won the hearts of middle America. The upper-middle class ideal of the 1970's is more sophisticated, perhaps more along the lines of Tatum O'Neill, who is smart enough to

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* For further discussion, see Phillipe Aries Centuries of Childhood.

**In Escape from Freedom, John Holt (1974) claims that "love object" corresponds with the better known term "sex object". People use children as love objects when they "think they have the right, or even the duty, to bestow on them 'love', visible and tangible signs of affection whenever (they) want, however (they) want, and whether (the children) like it or not."

fulfill her parents' dreams of getting her into Radcliffe, but still awfully cute. Like Shirley Temple, she can sing and dance, but she is also more masculine, in the traditional sense--her hair is short, and she often dresses like a boy, no frilly dresses, curls or hair bows. In Paper Moon she was independent, swore, smoked tobacco, and devised con games--a touch of the juvenile delinquent, except that you knew she wasn't really bad. As the middle-class begins to want their daughters to achieve what they once desired only for their sons--a good education, a well-paying career, happiness in the room at the top--they have begun to appreciate some of the so-called masculine qualities in their daughters, such as independence. But the Tatum O'Neill character would be too threatening in their own daughters, who they still appreciate having crawl into their laps, cuddle, and achieve in a quiet purposeful way. Tatum O'Neill might be outrageous, fun to watch, and a physically attractive child, but most parents prefer to go home and tuck their own love objects into bed.

How does a black girl compare with the mainstream of images of an ideal little girl? And how will white (male) researchers perceive the style and behaviors of black girls? Obviously they do not meet the aesthetic criterion of being blond and blue-eyed. But what is more important, assuming that the more enlightened social science researchers can get beyond looks and skin color, the young black girl may not behave the way her middle-class white counterpart does. If she does behave the way Tatum O'Neill did in Paper Moon, she simply is a juvenile delinquent. But without the extreme of a delinquent label, lower-class black girls are likely to have more practical experience in taking care of younger siblings and in taking over household responsibilities. They are more competent, more aggressive and more adept at organization. In short, they are most apt to be seen as assertive and bossy, rather than submissive and cuddly.

However, rather finding the black girls' independence and responsibilities as interesting proof of childhood competence and ability, they are usually seen as further evidence of the black child's deprivation and deviance. The activities, appearance, and attitudes of young black girls are so different, so alien to that of the little girls that most researchers are used to, that it may have become easier for them not to deal with black girls at all. They do not provide the satisfactions of dealing with a child love object, and they have not yet reached sexual maturity and so cannot provide the unconscious (or conscious) satisfactions that a man can obtain from dealing with a woman. If a woman has no social importance or does not happen to be considered physically attractive, she tends to be overlooked in our male-dominated society. This is true of white woman too, but black woman suffer the invisibility more--an invisibility which extends to and envelops black girls.

CONCLUSION

Young black girls face the discriminatory threat of racism, sexism, and childism. These oppressive and negative forces reflect our cultural obsessions and our cultural fears. They are part of the very fabric of

our history and social thought. They are institutionalized into our major social institutions and shape the dynamics of our interactions. A review of the literature of sexual and racial discrimination in schools illustrates the non-critical, ethnocentric vision of most social science. Most of the research seems to rationalize and "objectify" our prejudicial visions rather than to critically respond to the origins of injustice and discrimination in this society. The neglect of the black girls' experience doesn't force us to face the dissonance between our patriotic legends of equality and freedom and the realities of oppression and racism.

How can we begin to record the lives and experiences of young black girls? How can we begin to attack the contradiction and distortions that have encumbered our clear vision of them. First of all we must decide that black girls are precious people whose experiences are worthy of study. We must decide that their social, intellectual, and psychological growth and development are of critical importance to this society. Our research agendas, therefore, must reflect their prominence, their potential, and their strengths. This means that social science must not remain preoccupied with their deprivation, their deviance and their strangeness, but rather seek to understand the social meaning of their cultural perspective. This is a sensitive research task that requires liberated minds. Minority women researchers, who are closest to the experience of young black girls, have the greatest potential for accomplishing this inquiry. But we too must rid ourselves of some of the preconceptions and biases of our academic training in order to do an authentic piece of work.

Social scientists interested in documenting the experience of black girls in schools must not rely on simplistic, behavioral counts of teacher behavior in the classroom,not resort to political pleas for a new humanity in education (Kozol, 1967; Hentoff, 1966; Farber, 1970; Illich, 1970). In the first case, life in classrooms is reduced to those discrete variables that are easily quantifiable, but we learn very little about the wholistic, qualitative experience of children. In the second case, the inquiry is reduced to passion and rhetoric, often inspirational but rarely empiracle.

Methodological strategies for documenting classroom life must include systematic and subtle observations of the social, cognitive, and psychological messages that are transmitted among children and between teachers and children. These strategies must be designed to record:

(1) the characteristics and structure of the classroom environment in which children and teachers find themselves.

(2) the roles and relationships of the people involved in the educational process.

(3) the activities people engage in including the social and cognitive meaning of these interactions.

The observations of classroom life must be longitudinal in scope, documenting the patterns and constellations of behaviors that evolve over time. It is misleading, therefore, for an observer to evaluate the social meaning of an

isolated behavior in the classroom. One cannot, for instance, judge a teacher to be cold and heartless just because she is observed harshly scolding a child for leaving his chair. Neither can we view her goals as positive and nurturant just because her verbalizations seem immediately rewarding to children. Education is a cumulative, changing, and transforming process that cannot be captured in a static picture.

In order to responsibly interpret a specific teacher behavior, the observer needs to know more about the history of interactions that preceded the behavior, the cognitive and social needs of the child with whom the teacher is communicating, and the teacher's perceptions of the social structure of the classroom. Unfortunately, research explorations of teacher discrimination have relied too heavily on minimal evidence that have not recorded patterns and evolution of behavior over time, not considered the nature and norms of the classroom social system, and not attended to the dynamics and communications that may have no behavioral resprosentation.

Our picture of classroom life has also been distorted by its neglect of children. For the most part, observational research has focused exclusively on the teacher's interactions with children and ignored the child's initiating or active role.

Firstly, the saliency of the teacher's presence is not only related to how much contact the teacher initiates but also related to how the child shapes her world, who she chooses to communicate with, and who she chooses to exclude. The idea of the child as creator of her own environment is a relatively alien concept in the sociological and social psychological literature on teacher expectations and classroom behavior. But people studying the early developmental patterns of children have been able to identify the child's role in defining her own experience and determining her own fate and point to the critical need to consider the role of children in the classroom: a role that is more than responsive. The child's role can also be aggressive, assertive, and initiatory.

It is also true that a great deal of teaching and learning goes on among peers, without teacher direction or intervention. This is especially true of lower-class children who are more accustomed to seeking help, support, and nurturance from age-mates and less likely to focus their attention on a single, dominant adult (Beatrice Whiting, Six Cultures). If one documents only the responses of children to teacher communications, therefore, one neglects the child's active role in the environment and ignores the dynamics of learning among children.

The various observational strategies that I have proposed would be effective for documenting the experience of any child in the classroom. These methods would seem especially important for recording the experience of black girls because they are not likely to follow dominant patterns of behavior nor be exclusively attuned to the teacher's centrality. Their unique styles of behavior and patterns of interaction will only be recognized within a comprehensive, longitudinal research design.

Finally, it is important to recognize that school is only one institution in the life of a child--one that may have minimal saliency and meaning to her development. Social scientists interested in documenting the educational experience of black girls, therefore, must move beyond the boundaries of formalized schooling and observe their behaviors in a variety of settings. It is likely that many of the competencies and skills of black girls will not emerge in the classroom environment, but will be revealed within families, on the playground, in the church. Each of these social settings brings out a different set of behaviors and interactions that are all part of the educational agenda of children. In Beyond Black and White James Comar (1972) gives a beautiful description of the black church as a place where people experience dignity and strength after a work-week of indignities and injustice.

> "The black church was a place for participation and belonging. The deacons, trustees, and ushers were ten feet tall on Sunday. This was not Inland Steel, Miss Ann's kitchen, nor the bank. This - the church - was theirs. In retrospect, the trustees were like the city board of finance and the deacons were like the city council. There was a little bit of respect for everybody." (Comer, 1972,p.17)

Recently a reading program for black children was begun in Boston that recognizes the family as the most promising source of learning and works with parents and children in a dynamic and compelling reading method. The creators of the program decided to operate out of churches (rather than schools, social welfare agencies, or office buildings) because historically churches have been major institutions for solace, safety, social action and social change within the black community. More importantly, churches have been safe places for expressing one's mind, soul, and spirit. Within this setting, black children, who were consistent failures in school, were able to read quickly and expressively,and children who were passive and withdrawn at school were able to challenge and ask questions. If we want to document the learning and growth of black girls, therefore, we must follow them to their parts of the world--to the places where they feel comfortable and competent as well as to the settings where they experience powerlessness and deprivation.

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TOWARD FULL EQUALITY:

MORE JOB EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Pamela Ann Roby

TOWARD FULL EQUALITY: MORE JOB EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

While school and college enrollment has been leveling off, vocational education has been booming. State vocational and technical education enrollments increased from roughly 7.5 to 11.6 million from 1968 to 1972.[1] Even exceeding the growth in enrollment, funding for vocational education has increased massively. In 1962 vocational education received $262 million in federal and $930 million in state and local funding; in 1972, the figures were $464 million and $2.2 billion; respectively.[2] In addition, the Higher Education Act of 1972 authorized $950 million over the next three years for post-secondary occupational (i.e. vocational) education. This sum was over three times that authorized for the establishment of new community colleges and the expansion of old ones--$275 million.[3]

Women in Vocational Education

Despite this very considerable growth, it appears that the needs of women for vocational education have not yet been given serious attention.[4] Given Congress' definition of vocational education as "vocational or technical training or re-training...given in schools or classes...designed to prepare individuals for gainful employment as semi-skilled or skilled workers, technicians (or)...subprofessionals in recognized...and in new and emerging occupations or...for enrollment in advanced technical education programs..." there is considerable evidence that opportunities for women in vocational education are severely limited.[5] A 1974 report by the U.S.Department of Labor-sponsored Women in Apprenticeship Project observed that:

> 98.5% of the enrollees in Wisconsin High School industrial classes were male. The girls are given home economics or, if they are not on the college track, business subjects. In most schools girls are either overtly forbidden or subtly discouraged from seriously experimenting with shop courses that lay the foundation for work in the skilled trades: too great an interest in, or proficiency at, things technical are considered 'unfeminine'. This puts most women at a disadvantage when taking selection tests that examine familiarity with the tools and terms of the trade.[6]

Of the 6.4 million women and girls enrolled in public vocational programs across the country in 1972, 49 percent were being trained in home economics and another 28 percent in office practices.[7] Table 1 provides a picture of the distribution of women and men in the several areas of vocational education. The evidence is that very few women are being trained for the 20.1 million jobs that the National Planning Association estimates will occur by 1980 in what have been viewed primarily as male occupations, including the better paying trades,

industrial and technical jobs for which high schools now offer vocational courses with entry-level preparation.[8]

We do not have evidence that the clustering of women in vocational programs is only a matter of access and social influence. Nor do we know what proportion of women, given a real opportunity, would choose to move into traditionally male jobs. However, all the information that we do have suggests that given a real choice, women would move into every level of the industrial hierarchy.[9] Indeed, between 1960 and 1970 when some doors were opened to women, the rate of increase of women in the skilled trades was eight times the rate of increase for men.[10]

TABLE 1: Distribution of Females and Males in Vocational Education for Each Program Area, 1972.

	FEMALE			MALE		
	PERCENTAGE*		NUMBER**	PERCENTAGE		NUMBER
	Gainful (Excl. Homemaking)	Includg. Homemaking		Gainful	Includg. Homemaking	
Agriculture	1%	1%	48,153	17%	17%	848,307
Distributive Education	8	5	290,020	7	7	350,403
Health	8	4	285,071	1	1	51,581
Home Economics: Gainful	7	4	240,948	0.1	0.1	39,018
Office	51	28	1,796,387	11	11	555,491
Technical Education	1	1	33,006	6	6	304,063
Trades/ Industry	8	4	279,680	43	43	2,118,288
Special Program***	17	9	582,715	15	15	721,904
TOTAL:Gainful	101%		3,505,128	100%		4,931,284
Home Economics: Homemaking		45	2,916,987		0.5	248,745
TOTAL: Includg. Homemaking		101%	6,422,115		101%	5,180.029

*Source: Calculated from Bureau of Adult, Vocation and Technical Education, Summary Data: Vocational Education, Fiscal Year 1972, Washington,D.C.: Office of Education, U.S.Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 1973, p.2

**Ibid., p.2

***"Special Programs" include prevocational, prepost-secondary, and remedial programs.

Vocational Education Research and Women

In 1974, $40 million was appropriated for vocational education research and development under the authority of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90-576)[11] and administered by the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education of the U.S. Office of Education (U.S.O.E.). Additional sums were appropriated for vocational education research and development by the U.S.Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the National Institute of Education, other Federal agencies, the states independent of state administered federal funds, and private foundations.

Little of this multi-million dollar funding was devoted to projects directly related to the needs of women.[12] In 1974, out of the 93 federally funded projects under Section 131(a), Part C of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, only one pertained directly to women (that, directed by Kaufman and Lewis, will be discussed below.)[13] The allocation of so few Part C funds in 1974 to projects for women is all the more striking given the critical observation the previous year by the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education that:

> ...Although the legislative language (of Part C. Section 132 of the Vocational Education Act) is general enough to permit funding of demonstration projects relevant to the needs of mature women...only one project has been funded with any relevance to the concerns of women.[14]

Furthermore, no projects for women were funded in 1974 under the federally administered Part I or the regionally administered Part D of the Amendments.[15] Of the fifty state offices of vocational education, only three are currently sponsoring substantial research to determine how vocational education might better serve girls and women.[16]

To date no survey has been made to determine what percent of the project directors funded under the Vocational Education Amendments are women. Such a survey would appear to be called for under Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments. Women comprised 17 percent of the members of the American Vocational Education Research Association in 1973-1974.[17] This figure would appear to be a justifiable benchmark against which to evaluate whether or not women are fairly represented as directors of research projects funded under the Vocational Education Amendments.

Women's Vocational Education Needs and the Law

In 1974, 45 percent of all women 16 years and over were part of the labor force. They comprised 39 percent of the total labor force, compared with 26 percent in 1940.[18] Most of these women, the U.S. Department of Labor reports, work because they must. In March 1973,

of the 34 million women in the labor force, over half were either single, widowed, divorced, or separated, or had husbands whose incomes were less than $5,000 a year. Another 2.7 million were married to men with incomes between $5,000 and $7,000 -- incomes which fell below the Bureau of Labor Statistics' criteria for even a low standard of living for an urban family of four.[19] In 1972, the median wage, before taxes, for full-time year-round (50 to 52 weeks a year, 35 hours or more a week) female operatives was $5,021; of service workers (except private household), $4,606; and of non-farm laborers, $4,755.[20]

Unequal pay for equal work, though important, is only a part of the larger question of why women workers receive low wages. Following an extensive analysis of census data, economist Mary Stevenson concluded that sex "segregation in labor markets is the real problem underlying the low wages that women receive. ...When women are cordoned off into a circumscribed number of occupations and industries, the consequences are low wages.[21] In line with Stevenson's conclusions, Elizabeth Waldman and Beverly McEaddy recently reported that although women, like men, find jobs in the fastest growing industries, today, as in decades past, no matter what industry women are in, they remain clustered in fewer and lower paying occupations than men.[22]

Furthermore, female-intensive industries continue to pay considerably lower wages than male-intensive industries. For example, Waldman and McEaddy report:

> In January 1973, most industries paying average weekly earnings of less than $100 were female-intensive. Several were paying under $90 a week, while the weekly paycheck for all industries averaged $138. The average salary for all manufacturing workers was $159 a week in January 1973. For those in manufacturing industries that were female-intensive, the average was much lower--for example the apparel industry, in which 81 percent of the employees were women, paid average weekly salaries of only $93.[23]

Recently, women have been moving into the higher-paid skilled trades in greater numbers, but their percentage in these jobs remains small (1.6 percent of women over age 16 were employed in craft and kindred jobs in May 1974),[24] despite research that shows that many women have the aptitudes to perform jobs that have been traditionally held by men. In fact, research by the Human Engineering Laboratory of the Johnson O'Connor Research Foundation indicates that no significant sex differences exist in fourteen of the aptitude and knowledge areas studied, and of the remaining areas, men excel in two and women in four.[25]

As more and more women need to earn enough to support themselves and their families, and as it becomes clear that their low wages result largely from their being restricted to lower paying jobs, vocational

education has failed to move significantly to prepare them for the wider range of occupations that pay higher wages. Vocational education teachers and counselors, in fact, often discourage, or have actually refused to allow women to take courses that would prepare them for these jobs. Even unwittingly they simply mislead women students by encouraging them to believe that as wives and mothers they will not need to work when, in fact, these students as young adults are likely to be divorced and have to support themselves and their children or have husbands who are unable to alone support a family.

Eradicating these barriers to women and girls in vocational education is no longer a matter of gallantry but a matter of law. Title IX of the 1972 U.S. Education Amendments states:

> No persons in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or excluded from actively receiving federal financial assistance...[26]

This passage, as well as the subsequent anti-discrimination provision with regard to admission, student assignment, and faculty employment practices, applies to public or private institutions of vocational education.

Proposals for Research and Development

> ...Prejudices and outmoded customs act as barriers to the full realization of women's basic rights which should be respected and fostered as part of our Nation's commitment to human dignity, freedom, and democracy...(John F. Kennedy, in establishing the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1961.)

Both internalized and institutional barriers against women operate in vocational education.[27] Internalized barriers refer to social attitudes and norms taught men and women about "feminine" and "masculine" behavior that can serve to limit both sexes' ability to think flexibly about what are appropriate abilities, activities, and social roles for men and women. A girl considering a career in what has been viewed as a masculine occupation must overcome her own early socialization in which she was taught that traits such as physical and intellectual prowess and problem-solving ability were masculine.[28] Despite much discussion about sex stereotypes in school materials and despite the increasing proportion of mothers in the national labor force, grade school readers still tend to portray mothers in the kitchen.[29] Given this early socialization, it is not surprising that a significant percentage of both adolescent girls and boys have unrealistic expectations about women's work lives. Indeed, a recent survey of high school seniors from fourteen Arkansas public high schools found that 22.6 percent of the girls and 38.9 percent of the boys believed that "most girls will become housewives and never work outside the home."[30]

Many believe that girls would be helped to flexibly consider a wider range of vocational choices if school books portrayed women in a much wider range of roles and occupations. Changes in physical education courses, as well, would contribute to a greater flexibility for women in the vocational choices. Courses in physical education that stress strength and endurance would not only widen girls' views of their potentialities, but also prepare them better to qualify for jobs that have these requirements.

Internalized barriers to women are buttressed by and buttress institutional barriers, those organizational patterns and practices that hinder the efforts of girls to obtain preparation for technical jobs, the trades, and industry. Among these institutional barriers are admission practices that exclude girls from traditionally male vocational education courses and schools; pregnant girls from vocational education of any type; the absence of women from faculties and administrations of schools except in home economics and business skills; inadequate job counseling for girls; and inadequate child care for the children of students.

In the following section, I will trace the paths of vocational education students. For each step, I will examine barriers to women, review vocational education research related to the barriers, and suggest research and development projects to overcome the barriers.

Admission

The first hurdle to confront girls and women seeking vocational education is admission. Girls, must fulfill all the admission criteria concerning intelligence and educational experience normally required of men and, in addition, must overcome some barriers not experienced by men. Jack Conrad Willers observes that "the most obvious and common sexist school practice is to track male students into industrial arts, agriculture and technical trades, and female students into homemaking, health occupations, and business. High school girls receive vocational training which prepares them for a very limited range of careers, usually those with low pay potential, or even no pay as housewives.[31]

In a report of a survey of vocational schools, the Director of the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S.Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said that:

> (a) Chronic problem in area vocational schools is the separation of programs and courses by sex. Even more serious is the existence of vocational schools that accept only students of one sex. So far the survey has identified 17 single-sex institutions and I estimate we will have reports on about 40, most of them in the Northeast where, like other parts of the nation, some traditions do not change easily. Title IX of the Education Amendments

provides for the elimination of vocational school policies that discriminate on the basis of sex. Their eligibility to participate in Federal programs is in danger until they adopt acceptable plans to transform themselves into institutions that admit both sexes without bias. ...The other aspect of sex discrimination in vocational schools has to do with segregation by course. Of the 1000 (Office of Civil Rights institutional questionnaire) forms surveyed so far, nearly all listed at least one course that was exclusive to one sex and nearly 60 percent reported that a majority of the course programs in the school were exclusively for males or exclusively for females.[32]

Furthermore, the General Accounting Office's 1974 report on Vocational Education described:

> --Catalogs describing vocational programs used the exclusive pronoun 'he' when referring to course requirements in almost all subjects, and the exclusive pronoun 'she' when describing secretarial and nursing courses. Vocational officials agreed that potential students studying this material might get the impression that courses were restricted to members of one sex.
>
> --Sometimes classes were physically located in a manner which could encourage sex role stereotyping. In one secondary area vocational school, clerical, health, and cosmetology courses were offered in one building and all other courses in an adjacent building. Female students questioned by us about their vocational interests said the courses they were taking did not necessarily coincide with what they hoped to do later. They said their choices for training were limited because girls were not allowed in the 'boys' building. The school director agreed that girls might get that impression but said that girls could apply for courses offered in the other building.[33]

Table 2 shows that the distribution of secondary-level vocational education female enrollees among program areas was slightly less stereotyped in 1972 than in 1969, but progress needs to be made for girls and boys to be equally distributed among program areas. Marilyn Steele has pointed out that the concentration of girls within this narrow range of programs is discriminatory, not only because it results in women having considerably lower wages than men but because the program areas in which women are concentrated have a much higher student/faculty ratio and lower per student expenditures than those in which boys are concentrated. The program areas (health, homemaking, gainful home economics, and office programs) in which girls predominate had an average of 13 more students per teacher than those in which boys are concentrated (agriculture, distribution, technical, and trades and industry) in 1972.[34]

TABLE 2: Females as a Percentage of Total Vocational Education Enrollees for Each Program Area, 1969 and 1972

	FEMALES AS % OF ENROLLEES 1969*	1972**
Agriculture	1%	6%
Distributive Education	50	52
Health	96	81
Home Economics: Gainful	97	85
Office	88	83
Technical Education	8	12
Trades Industry	14	14
TOTAL: Gainful		40%
Home Economics: Homemaking	97	90%
TOTAL: Includg. Homemaking	51%	55%

* Source: Office of Education, U.S.Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Vocational Education: Characteristics of Teachers and Students, 1969 by Evelyn R. Kay, Washington, D.C.: U.S.Government Printing Office, 1970, p.9.

** Source: Office of Education, Vocational Education: Characteristics of Students and Staff, 1972, op. cit., pp. 57, 11.

Quoting from a 1974 speech by HEW's Acting Assistant Secretary of Education, the GAO report identified the consequences of these forms of discrimination:

> In one city the average expected wage for trades learned by girls was 47 percent lower than for trades learned by boys. So not only were students channeled into traditionally male or female jobs, but girls were guided into employment at lower income levels.[35]

Women's organizations and individual women have filed suit against officers of federal agencies who are responsible for enforcing the laws, Title IX, Titles VII, VIII, and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which require that federal funds not be extended to educational institutions that have

employment practices and education policies which discriminate on the basis of sex.[36] Adequate enforcement of these laws will require that a large number of professional and clerical personnel be added to the 847 professional and clerical workers who now staff the central and regional offices of the U.S. Office of Civil Rights and that the enforcement budget be increased.[37]

Additional barriers confront pregnant girls when they seek to remain in or be admitted to secondary vocational programs in many parts of the nation. Only anecdotal information is so far available on the extent to which pregnant, physically able, girls are refused admission to or retention in secondary vocational programs.

At the post-secondary level the admission process is more complex. Many potential post-secondary female applicants are simply not in school ready to enter a course of study. They are scattered. Some are in public schools. Some are employed. Some are full-time housewives with infants or toddlers. Others have reared their children. Consequently, the first major question involved in the admission process of post-secondary vocational education programs is, who is notified of the program? Publicity about a program relayed only through announcements in secondary schools and workplaces, is less likely to reach unemployed housewives than if it is also relayed through posters in laundermats and churches, P.T.A. newsletters, television advertisements, or articles in the women's section of local newspapers. Likewise, at the workplace, publicity about vocational education programs is more likely to reach women if it is related through posters placed in those areas of the shop where they are likely to see them. A useful model is provided by Florence Mintz's demonstration research project which used a multi-media approach including newspapers, brochures, direct mailings, radio and television to recruit mature women (over age 30) into the drafting and design program of the Union County Technical Institute in New Jersey.[38]

The second question relating to post-secondary admission is, what impression does publicity concerning the program and the program itself make on its female audience? Are only men pictured on the posters? Is the word "he" but not "she" used to describe applicants? Do women students have the impression from their friends that they will not be welcome in particular programs? The third question is, how do post-secondary vocational education admissions counselors advise women of various backgrounds? Do they recommend that mothers with young children not enter the program? Do they tell women "of course you can enroll in the industrial course, but I don't know why a good looking girl like you would want to?" The final question is, as at the secondary level, will teachers and admissions officers admit women to traditionally male courses of study?

Enrollment

Assuming access, women are confronted by a series of questions about the feasibility of enrollment in post-secondary vocational programs. Mothers are the hardest hit. Some may be unable to enroll simply because schools are

physically inaccessible or do not offer convenient hours of operation. Locating programs near public transportation lines and decentralizing them would enable larger numbers of women to take advantage of them.

Financial aid and child care are also crucial problems. While men need financial aid as much as women, the absence of adequate child care facilities makes it difficult for women to enroll in any advanced education offering, and even more difficult for those women with limited finances.

These enrollment issues pertain primarily to women interested in post-secondary vocational education programs. But with increasing number of girls marrying early or becoming pregnant, inside or outside of marriage, there is also a growing need for suitable programs at the secondary level.[39]

Instruction

Following a survey of secondary school curriculum, Janice Law Trecker concluded that:

> In perhaps no other area of the curriculum is there more need for non-stereotyped information and for positive role models for young women than in vocational training and career education...traditional stereotypes about the proper work for women have combined with overt economic discrimination to greatly restrict the aspirations and opportunities of the female secondary school student. ...materials and programs which might enlarge the career possibilities and raise the aspirations of young women should be a high priority item in any responsible school program.[40]

The first step along the way to supplying the kinds of materials and programs Trecker refers to would be an effort to screen curricular materials for sex stereotypes and make revisions where the materials are found to be biased.

Another useful step would be the introduction, in the first year of secondary vocational education, of a course on the changing career patterns of women in the United States; on manpower projections and their implications for students' occupational choices; on the wage differentials of various occupations; and on federal and state equal employment laws. A Working Woman's Guide to Her Job Rights published by the U.S. Women's Bureau is a useful basic text for the latter part of the course.[41] Inservice training programs that provide relevant information and guidelines for teachers, counselors and administrators, would also be helpful.

Another very important factor, though not normally thought of as part of instruction, is the presence of women in responsible positions in the school. The absence of women in administrative and faculty positions outside of home economics, health, and business-related vocational programs serves as a silent but potent message to female students. Elizabeth Camp

King found that, in public community junior colleges, women comprise only 29 percent of the total faculty and that 92 percent of the female vocational education faculty is concentrated in health (57 percent), business (28 percent), and home economics (7 percent).[42] The other vocational programs -- agriculture, distribution, technical, and trades and industry -- are dominated by men.[43] At the secondary level, Table 3 shows that although nearly equal numbers of men and women are vocational educators, men and women teachers are distributed differently among the eight major teaching areas.[44]

TABLE 3: Percent Distributions of Vocational Education Teachers in Secondary School Systems by Teaching Area and Sex, 1972-73*

TEACHING AREA	PERCENT TEACHERS WOMEN	PERCENTAGE OF ALL TEACHERS IN EACH AREA
Home Economics (Homemaking)	98.7	20.5
Home Economics (Occupational)	98.2	5.1
Health	88.2	3.1
Office/Business	71.8	22.4
Distributive Education	23.0	6.7
Trades/Industry	10.7	29.1
Technical Education	1.5	3.5
Agriculture	(***)	9.6
TOTAL	49.1	100.00

*Source: Office of Education, Vocational Education: Characteristics of Students and Staff, 1972, op. cit., p. 37, 45

**Unweighted number less than 10.

***Less than 0.05 percent.

At high administrative and advisory council levels, women appear in only token numbers. In a random sample of 400 area vocational schools, Sites found that men comprised 93 percent of the directors.[45] Only one woman is currently employed as a State Director of Vocational Education or as a State Supervisor outside of the fields of business, distribution, health, and home economics.[46]

To upgrade vocational education, Part F of the 1967 Educational Professions Development Act (EPDA) and Title II of the 1968 Vocational Education Amendments, provided for "leadership development awards" for individuals to undertake graduate work in such areas as administration, supervision, teacher education, research, and curriculum development "in order to meet the needs in all the States for qualified vocational education personnel" (Section 552)[47] and for grants to State boards "to pay the cost of carrying out cooperative" projects "for the training or retaining of experienced vocational education personnel such as teachers, teacher educators, administrators, supervisors, and coordinates, and other personnel, in order to strengthen education programs and the administration of schools offering vocational education" (Section 553).[48]

In 1970-72, the leadership development awards were for three-year doctoral studies; in 1973, they were used for one-year leadership development programs. Eleven institutions of higher education received(Section 552)grants as well as State grants for (Section 553) programs.[49] The directors and state coordinators for these programs, who, in all eleven institutions, were selected from the ranks of existing staff were all white men.[50] Of the 160 participants in the first eleven three-year EPDA doctoral programs, only 20 (12.5 percent) were women; of the 56 participants in the seven subsequent three-year EPDA doctoral programs only 16 (28.6 percent) were female. Women, however, comprised a considerably higher and increasing percentage of the participants of the less prestigious one-year EPDA graduate programs (25.4 percent in FY 1973 and 42.4 percent in FY 1974).[51]

Among the members of the 50 state advisory councils on vocational education in 1974, less than 17 percent were women.[52] Three women (only one of whom was employed) and eighteen men comprised the National Advisory Council of Vocational Education in 1975.[53] The requirements for members of the Council set by the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 attempt to satisy such interest groups as labor, management, state and local vocational education program administrators, representatives of the handicapped, representatives of the "disadvantaged", and adult vocational education groups,[54] but there is no effort made to include persons familiar with the special problems and needs of women. The inclusion of such a person would help assure that issues relating to women are treated adequately. The inclusion of more women on the advisory councils would obviously help to eliminate the stereotype that women do not belong in positions of responsibility.

Counseling

In their advice to student, counselors may wittingly or not reinforce stereotypes that present women from thinking more broadly about career decisions.[55]

Much of the information they provide, in the tests and career interest inventories they use, and the literature they distribute and the films they show contain highly traditional views of occupational and career opportunities from women.[56] Counselors would benefit greatly in their efforts to overcome these stereotypic materials from the National Institute of Education's recently developed "Guidelines for Assessment of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Inventories."[57]

Another good resource for career counselors is the film on women in apprenticeable occupations entitled "Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman," produced by the U.S. Department of Labor-sponsored Wisconsin Women in Apprenticeship Project, which is available from the Wisconsin Women in Apprenticeship Project, which is available from the Wisconsin Employment Service. Though this film portrays only women in their thirties or older, it would be appreciated as well by younger girls, especially in the absence, to date, of a similar film for younger women. The Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities Project (SEGO) of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) funded by the U.S. Office of Education also offers elementary and secondary school counselors technical assistance in changing sex role stereotypes.[58]

Vocational Education counseling for women would be greatly enhanced by offering summer institutes or in-service training programs to counselors to provide them with the most up to date information and to assist them in finding new means to help junior and senior high school girls consider a wide range of job possibilities and courses that will help them to qualify for jobs other than those traditionally viewed as women's jobs. At the point that a girl decides she would like a career in the labor force, a counselor can be very helpful. Considering her earlier socialization, a girl may begin to experience self-doubt, the result of "internalized barriers" -- Is this the proper thing for a woman to do? Will men still like me? Will I lose my femininity? Will I be able to do a good job? She may also discover that she cannot gain access to the courses she wants, and that she is unable to find a counselor who has more than a minimum of information or support for her.[59] Indeed, as Bailey and Stadt point out, the knowledge base required for effective, informed occupational advising of girls has yet to be developed. They explain that "major theoretical formulations have not distinguished between the sexes, and empirical tests of these theories have been limited almost entirely to boys and men. Only a few studies have approached female vocational behavior from the standpoint of the currently accepted theories.[60] Certainly, as McAlister, as well as Bailey and Stadt suggest, research needs to be undertaken on the manner in which females make career decisions and on how career advising processes for girls and women may be improved.[61]

Improved career counseling, Bailey and Stadt suggest, should begin with the concept of total life planning. Since, they write, a shift has occurred from the "traditionally organized family where the husband was the sole breadwinner and the wife was the sole homemaker, to multiple-role families in which both partners share responsibilities for the household tasks and for earning...young women need to prepare for multiple roles during different periods of their lives."[62] Girls might also be given the opportunity to consider being, and to prepare for being, single most or all their lives. Bailey and Stadt recommend two areas in which changes should begin. The first is to expose myths about women. The U.S.Department of Labor's handout entitled "The Myth and the Reality" provides accurate information in a readable form about such myths as "women work only for 'pin money'","women cost companies more because they are "ill more than male workers", and "men do not like to work for women supervisors."[63] The second area is "expansion of educational programs and services to help girls and women become aware of the broader opportunities open to them". Here, they suggest that consciousness raising group meetings might expedite "recognition of the fact that many of women's problems are universal and not individual" and that this recognition might accelerate "individual discovery and self-development."[64] This process can be enriched by occasional meetings with counselors who utilize informational brochures and slideshows concerning vocational and educational opportunities.

I would add seven suggestions: Vocational education counselors might provide girls with tours of a variety of vocational classrooms and visits to a variety of industries so that they may learn not only about the nature of specific jobs but also about wage differentials among jobs and industries.[65] Women employed in a wide range of traditionally male and female occupations might be invited to discuss their experiences with students. Although boys are generally better informed than girls about industrial and other jobs, such tours and discussions would also be useful to them. Counselors could provide girls and women with information about occupational trends. Because we do not know enough about how sex-role stereotypes dampen girls' motivations to pursue traditionally male careers, imaginative research is needed. For example, a series of posters showing women in different kinds of work with various kinds of slogans could be tested for varying responses among girls of differing ages.[66] Girls and women already in a traditionally male vocational education program could serve as "big sisters" to those newly entering the program. The big sisters might meet occasionally, perhaps with a counselor to provide occupational and other information, so that the women could have group as well as individual support.

Simulated job experience programs like those developed by John Kumboltz, et al, in medical laboratory technology, x-ray technology, sales, and banking could be developed for girls and women in job areas in which expansion is projected. The Krumboltz Career Kits present problems "typical of those encountered by workers in the five occupations. The materials"present the information necessary to solve the problems," give "subjects an opportunity to solve the problems," and allow "them to compare their answers with the correct ones." The Krumboltz Kits "consistently produced more interest and more occupational information seeking" among students than control treatments.[67]

Joseph Champagne has pointed out that to insure the acceptance of such counseling and educational programs by parents and community members, counselors need to educate these groups about the need to open traditionally male occupations to women. Open houses and meetings with parents; address to community groups; television, radio and newspaper exposure, film and/or slide presentations and the distribution of informational brochures may all be useful.[68]

The counselor's role in vocational education for women needs to be expanded to include actual job counseling. In many communities, despite equal employment laws, jobs in traditionally male occupations are still not made available to women. Kaufman's study shows that men are considerably more likely than women to obtain their first job through a relative or friend.[69] Because this "old boy" system maintains prejudices, and because many employers have their own sexist inclinations, vocational education counselors need to develop strategies to encourage local employers to hire women and to increase the number of women they hire directly from vocational education schools for nontraditional occupations.

Along with increasing employers' willingness to hire women and helping women students to find jobs, counselors could teach students techniques for applying and interviewing for jobs. Because of their early socialization, many women are overly modest about their abilities. They need to be taught that a bit of honest boasting is called for on job applications and in interviews.

Conclusion

Civil rights laws now state that women may participate fully and equally in the labor market. The industrial and social fabric of this nation requires that women be granted training to qualify for full participation and to be self-supporting. What is required now to fulfill the federal mandate is the extension of all types of vocational education to women. In Appendix I, I offer a series of suggestions for amendment of the U.S. "Vocational Education Amendments of 1968" and recommendations for federal and state policy, practice, and research that will assist in obtaining equity for women in vocational education.

At the local level, policy makers, administrators, and program developers could assist high school girls by removing all barriers to their entry into schools and courses for which they otherwise qualify and by reviewing the curriculum and counseling materials for misleading stereotypes. They might also provide inservice training programs for teachers and counselors on changing career patterns of women and women's vocational training needs, and guarantee vocational education opportunities to pregnant teenagers.

School counselors might develop outreach programs to educate parents and the community at large about the need to open traditionally male occupations to women. Elementary and secondary teachers could help girls by providing visits to a variety of industries to teach them about the nature

of specific jobs and about the varying wage rates of different jobs and industries, and by providing a unit for all students on the changing career patterns of women, opportunities for women in stereotypically male occupations, and on federal and state equal employment laws.

At the post-secondary vocational education level, policy makers and administrators could help women by providing child care at low sliding scale rates, by examining who is notified of post-secondary vocational education programs and extending publicity to all groups of women currently not touched, and by examining all public information materials for sex bias including the exclusive use of the term "he". They might also locate vocational programs near public transportation lines and decentralize programs so that women without cars may participate in them, form student support groups of women who have returned to school after several years of absence, and ascertain that all students receive information concerning recent equal employment laws and opportunities for women in traditionally male occupations.

We can hope that federal, state, and local legislators and administrators will provide women with equal vocational education opportunities. If they do not, parental groups, women's organizations--the League of Women Voters, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Organization for Women, the Women's Equity Action League, the Coalition of Neighborhood Women--and other concerned groups of citizens will have to take action themselves by replacing recalcitrant representatives.

Recommendations

Toward the end of guaranteeing equity for women in vocational education, I recommend that the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 be further amended as follows:

-Section 101 (the "Declaration of Purpose") to state that "members of both sexes shall be given equal educational opportunities in all areas of vocational education."

-Section 104 ("National and State Advisory Councils" - subsections (a) (1) and (b) (1) of the Amendments to state that the National and State Advisory Councils on Vocational Education "shall include persons; a) who are familiar with the special problems women must confront in vocational education, and b) who are representative of women."

-Section 106 ("Labor Standards") which states:

> All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or sub-contractors on all construction projects assisted under this title shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a-276a-5).

to state, "and shall be hired, promoted and paid wages without regard to sex, race, color, religion or national origin."

-Section 107 ("Limitation on Payments Under This Title") to include a subsection (c) which states: "Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize the making of any payment under this title for sexually segregated instruction, or for the construction, operation, or maintenance of any facility which is used or is to be used for sexually segregated instruction."

-Section 122 ("Uses of Federal Funds"), subsection (a) (6) ("Grants to States for Vocational Guidance and Counseling") to authorize, as Steiger has recommended, the use of funds to educate guidance counselors about the changing work patterns of women, to train them in ways of effectively confronting occupational sex stereotyping and of helping girls and women base their career choices on their occupational needs and interests rather than on sex stereotypes,[70] and to develop career counseling materials which are free of sexual bias.

-Section 122 (a) (8) to authorize the use of funds for the development of curriculum materials and inservice training programs to overcome sex bias in vocational education programs and to enable teachers to meet the vocational education needs of female students.[71]

-Section 122 (b) to authorize 100 percent Federal funding to states for the establishment of an Office for Women within the State Departments of Vocational Education which would a) gather and analyze data on the status of female students and employees throughout the state vocational education system; b) coordinate actions to correct the problems uncovered by the data analysis; c) review the dissemination of grants by the State Department of Vocational Education and assure that women's interests and needs are addressed by the projects funded; d) review vocational education programs in the state for sex bias; e) review all hiring, firing and promotion procedures within the state vocational education system for sex discrimination; f) review and submit recommendations for the annual State Vocational Education Plan; g) assist local school systems and others in the state in improving vocational education opportunities for women; and h) develop an annual report on the status of women within the state's vocational education system; submit it to the State Commissioner of Vocational Education, the State Board of Vocational Education, the State and the National Advisory Councils on Vocational Education, the State Commission on the Status of Women, and the Commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education; and make it available to all interested parties.[72]

-Section 123 ("State Plans") subsection (a) (3) which reads:

> Any state desiring to receive the amount for which it is eligible for any fiscal year pursuant to this title shall submit a state plan at such time, in such detail, and containing such information as the Commissioner deems necessary, which meets the requirements set forth in this title. The Commissioner shall approve a plan submitted by a state if he determines that the plan submitted for that year...(3) has been submitted only after the state board...

To also state: (C) has assured the review of the Plan by the Office for Women of the State Department of Vocational Education, has itself given due consideration to the needs of female students, and has assured that all programs and projects included under the plan are designed to attract persons of both sexes and that no sex stereotyping exists in the programs and projects included under the plan.

-Section 123, subsection (a) (6) to specify that 5 percent of Part B funds be set aside for a State incentive program for local school districts to encourage schools to overcome sex bias in vocational education.

-Section 123, subsection (a) (17) to require the submission of employment and enrollment data by sex for all vocational education programs.

-Section 131 ("Research and Training in Vocational Education - Authorization of Grants and Contracts") subsections (a and b) to provide for 5 percent of all grant funds to be set aside to be used as incentives to grant and contract recipients to include females in their (i) research

and training programs, (ii) experimental, developmental, or pilot programs, and (iii) dissemination of information derived from the foregoing programs or research.

-Section 132 ("Research and Training in Vocational Education - Uses of Federal Funds") to include a subsection stating that funds may be used to investigate sex bias in the vocational education system; and to develop research; training, experimental, developmental and pilot programs; evaluation, demonstration and dissemination projects and new vocational education curricula and counseling materials designed to equalize vocational education opportunities for male and female students and eliminate sex stereotyping within vocational education.

-Section 133 ("Applications for Research and Training Funds") to include a subsection (c) stating that the Commissioner shall encourage both sexes to apply for grants and contracts under Part C.

-Section 143 ("Exemplary Programs and Projects" - "Uses of Funds") subsection (a) (2) to additionally include funding for (F) programs designed to overcome traditional sex stereotyping in vocational education programs, in placement services and in programs and projects to achieve the purposes of this part, including those of manpower agencies and industry.

-Section 143, subsection (b) (1) to include a provision (D) that effective procedures and policies will be adopted by grantees and contractors to assure that no sex stereotyping exists within their programs or projects including the exclusive use of the term "he" in materials developed under the program or project.

-Section 143, subsection (b) to include a provision stating (5) that the Commissioner shall encourage both sexes to apply for grants and contracts under Part D.

-Section 161 ("Consumer and Homemaking Education") subsection (b) to additionally state that for purposes of this part the state plan approved under Section 123 shall set forth a program under which Federal funds paid to state from its allotment under subsection (a) will be expended solely for (3) educational programs and ancillary services designed to attract students of both sexes.

-Section 173 ("Cooperative Vocational Education Programs"- "Plan Requirement") subsection (a) to specify that (1) funds will be used only for developing and operating cooperative work-study programs as defined in Section 175 which ... are free to sex stereotyping; and (8) accounting, evaluation, and follow-up procedures as the Commissioner deems necessary will be provided including evaluation of the program's benefit to both sexes.

-Section 182 ("Work-Study Programs for Vocational Education Students" - "Plan Requirement") subsection (b) to state that a work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who...(D) has been selected without regard to sex, race, color, religion, or national origin.

-Section 191 ("Curriculum Development in Vocational and Technical Education" - "Authorization") subsection (c) (1) to additionally state that sums appropriated pursuant to subsection (b) shall be used by the Commissioner... (G) to promote the development and dissemination of vocational education curriculum materials which are free to sex stereotyping and which aid both sexes in learning about a wide range of occupational subjects regardless of the sexual stereotypes previously associated with them, to train personnel in the use of these curricular materials, and to evaluate existing vocational-technical education curriculum materials as to sex bias.

-Section 552 ("Training and Development Programs for Vocational Education Personnel" - "Leadership Development Awards") subsection (a) to specify that the Commissioner shall make available leadersnip development awards in accordance with the provisions of this part only upon his determination that ... (D) adequate provision has been made for appropriate selection procedures without regard to sex, race, color, religion, or national origin.

-Section 553 ("Exchange Programs, Institutes, and Inservice Education for Vocational Education Teachers, Supervisors, Coordinators, and Administrators") subsection (b) (2) to state that Grants under this section may be used for projects and activities such as... (2) inservice training programs for vocational education teachers and other staff members to improve the quality of instruction, supervision, and administration of vocational education programs; and to overcome sex stereotyping and sexual biases within vocational education programs.

Federal and State Policies and Practices

-The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare should fully implement the guidelines for Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 (P.L. 92-318).

-The Administration should increase its appropriations for federal and regional enforcement budgets for the U.S. Office of Civil Rights and the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to the full amount authorized by the U.S. Congress so that federal civil rights laws may be enforced in vocational education and elsewhere; state administrations should do likewise for the enforcement of state civil rights laws.

-The U.S. Commissioner of Education should take steps to assure that appropriate affirmative action procedures are followed in the hiring and promotion of State Vocational Education Directors, state vocational education supervisors, area vocational school directors, state vocational education coordinators, state Research Coordinating Unit directors, institutional directors of EPDA (Education Professional Development Act) programs, and vocational education teachers and counselors; in the selection and placement follow-up of participants for EPDA programs; and in the selection of vocational education research and training project directors.

-The U.S. Office of Education should develop and distribute quality films for high school girls and their parents on opportunities for women in apprenticeship programs and in traditionally male courses of study and jobs, on women's need for good paying work today, and on equal employment laws and women's job rights.

Research and Development

The U.S. Commissioner of Education and State Directors of Vocational Education should assure that a statement that "sex discrimination including sex stereotyping is illegal in any form: is prominantly positioned on all announcements of, applications for, and approvals of research and development grants.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education should:

-keep annual status reports on the percentage of research and development grant or contract directors who are women;

-provide for the dissemination of all research findings on means of improving the effectiveness of vocational education for women to all state vocational education directors, all directors of state vocational education offices for women, and all directors of vocational education systems within the United States.

Research and development projects should be conducted and funded to:

- determine how to most effectively recruit women from various backgrounds into and keep them in a wide variety of vocational programs which are stereotypically male;

-determine means of most effectively assisting women in making the transition from vocational school to high paying jobs which have traditionally employed few or no women;

-determine the availability of vocational education for pregnant teenagers;

-content analyze all vocational education texts, and counseling and curricular materials for sex stereotypes and other forms of sexism;

-develop non-sexist text books, and other curricular and counseling materials for every area of vocational education;

-survey male and female elementary, junior and senior high school students to determine in what areas boys and girls have different levels of information regarding occupations;

-survey persons of both sexes in vocational education programs and jobs traditionally considered the prerogative of the other sex to learn

what overt and covert barriers they confront and have confronted;

-determine the effects of different forms of vocational counseling on female students with varying backgrounds, needs and problems;

-through a series of experimental demonstration research projects, find the best means by which counselors and teachers may help elementary, junior and senior high school girls to consider a wide range of traditionally male as well as traditionally female job possibilities, help them select courses which will have long range usefulness, and help them evaluate the desirability of post-secondary education;

-determine how females varying from age five to fifty-five and from various racial, ethnic, geographic, cultural and economic backgrounds make career decisions;

-develop measures of career development based on samples including adequate numbers of women and minorities of various backgrounds as well as majority males, and follow the samples through their later career development in order to determine the usefulness of the measures;

-determine means of encouraging and enabling more women to develop and submit proposals for research and development funds;

-determine the most effective means of teaching elementary school and vocational education students about the changing career patterns of women, the implications of manpower projections for students' occupational choices, and federal and state equal employment laws;

-determine the most effective means of educating parents, community and business groups about the need to open traditionally male occupations to women;

-survey female vocational graduates in a variety of traditional and nontraditional jobs concerning means by which their vocational instruction and counseling might have been improved and how it benefited them;

-determine the most effective means of teaching female students how to look, apply and interview for, and begin non-traditional jobs;

-determine the effectiveness of various simulated work samples and problems from traditionally male jobs in familiarizing female students with various types of work and allowing them to assess their interests in and abilities with regard to various types of work.

NOTES

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1. These figures are for secondary and post-secondary education programs combined. Vocational education enrollments in public secondary schools were nearly 6.4 million in 1972-73. Office of Education, U.S.Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Vocational Education: Characteristics of Students and Staff, 1972 by Nicholas A. Osso, Washington, D.C.: U.S.Government Printing Office, 1974, p.1.

2. National and State Advisory Councils on Vocational Education, "The Impact of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968", an unpublished mimeo prepared for the U.S. Congressional Oversight Hearings on the Vocational Education Act, April 1974.

3. The money authroized by the Higher Education Act was specifically for training for "gainful employment as semi-skilled or skilled workers or technicians or sub-professionals in recognized occupations (including new and emerging occupations); it prohibited the funding of programs leading to a bachelor's degree." Jerome Karable, "Protecting the Portals: Class and the Community College," Social Policy, Vol. 5, No. 1, May/June 1974, p. 15-6.

4. Originally I intended this paper to be on the effect of vocational education on minorities as well as on women, but I found that the vocational education issues affecting the two groups are quite diverse. In fact, the effect of vocational education on and the needs of various minority groups are also highly varied. Therefore, in order to confine this paper to reasonable bounds, I am limiting it to women. I very much hope that others will address themselves to the effect of vocational education on various minority groups. Herbert Striner and Jacob Kaufman et. al. have begun this effort. See Herbert E. Striner, Toward A Fundamental Program for the Training Employment and Economic Equality of the American Indian, Washington,D.C.:

The Upjohn Institute, 1968, pp.303-304; Jacob J. Kaufman, Carl J. Schaefer, Morgan V. Lewis, David W. Stevens, and Elaine W. House, The Role of Secondary Schools in the Preparation of Youth For Employment: A Comparative Study of the Vocational, Academic and General Curricula, University Park, Penna.: Institute for Research on Human Resources, 1967, Chapter 9, "The Negro and Vocational Education." A recent U.S. Office of Civil Rights sampling of 79 area vocational schools in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio found that only 135 of the 2,612 instructors in these schools were minority members (5.3 percent) despite the facts that the minority population of these four states is more than 10 percent, the representation of minorities among all the public elementary and secondary teachers of these four states approaches 10 percent, and minorities are a high proportion of the work force at all levels of skill and competence in these states. Peter E. Holmes, Director, Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Educatic and Welfare, "Enforcement of Civil Rights Statutes in Area Vocational-Technical Schools," paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of State Directors of Vocational Education, Washington,D.C., May 1, 1974, p. 11..

5. Section 108 of PL 90-576.

6. Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Woman in Apprenticeship--Why Not? Manpower Research Monograph No. 33, Washington,D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974, p.1.

7. These percentages include homemaking which does not fall within the definition of vocational education used in footnote # 1 and by the U.S. Congress. Despite the Congressional definition, most vocational education data provided by the U.S. Office of Education includes homemaking which is not "preparation for gainful employment." Data calculated from Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education, Summary Data: Vocational Education, Fiscal Year 1972, Washington,D.C.: Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, May 1973, p.2.

8. Ibid., pp.2, 14-17. Vocational education is composed of the following major program areas: agriculture, distribution, health, home economics (gainful), office, technical, trades and industry, and special programs. Among the 19 major instructional programs included in the "distribution" area are advertising services, apparel and accessories, automotive, finance and credit, floristry, food distribution. Dental assistant, medical lab assistant, practical nurse and physical therapy are among the instructional programs in the health area. Gainful home economics includes care and guidance of children, and good management service. The office area includes accounting and computing, filing and office machines, stenography, secretarial and typing programs. Among the 21 major instructional programs in the technical area are aeronautical, architectural, automotive, chemical, electrical and metallurgial technology.

Among the 44 major instructional programs in the trade and industrial area are air conditioning, applicance repair, auto mechanics, blueprint reading, business machine maintenance, carpentry, electricity, masonry, plumbing and pipefitting, drafting, graphic arts, cosmetology and textile production. Leonard A. Lecht, "Priorities in Vocational Education: Recent Developments and Potentials for Change During the 1970's," Looking Ahead, Vol. 20, No. 7, November 1972, p.1, Cf. Kaufman, et. al., pp. 5-31-5-36.

9. Cf. Dixie Sommers, "Occupational Rankings for Men and Women by Earnings," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 97, No. 8, August 1974, tables 1 and 2.

10. Janice Neipert and Stephen E. Bemis, "Sex Stereotyping: Its Decline in the Skilled Trades," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 97, No. 5, May 1974, p. 14.

11. Congress authorized $152.5 million or nearly 4 times as much as was appropriated for vocational education research and development for fiscal year 1974.

12. Ralph R. Canter reported that he could "not locate any on-going or planned studies" on "how vocational education might be adjusted to better meet the needs of girls and women." He noted that "the Army anticipates the possibility of such studies in two or three years. The Office of Naval Research has received proposals for such studies but has not been able to fund any. The Air Force, the Marine Corps, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency have no programs in this area. In sum, DOD agencies have not found this area to need research efforts as yet." Ralph R. Canter, Program Manager, Life Sciences Directorate, Air Force Office of Scientific Research, U.S. Department of the Air Force letter to Monica K. Sinding, Research Associate, Committee on Vocational Education Research and Development, Assembly of Behavioral and Social Sciences, National Research Council, October 18, 1974. Glenn C. Boerrigter reported that "I regret that a rather thorough search of projects (anticipated and existing) indicates nothing specifically directed to" the concern "of how vocational education might be adjusted to better meet the needs of girls and women." Glenn C. Boerrigter, Chief, Research Branch, Division of Research and Demonstration, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to Monica K. Sinding, September 16, 1974. Howard Rosen wrote that "A search of the files reveals that neither the Office of Manpower Research and Development nor the Office of Manpower Program Evaluation has issued a Request for Proposals concerning how vocational education might be adjusted to better meet the needs of girls and women." Howard Rosen, Director, Office of Manpower Research and Development, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, letter to Monica K. Sinding, September 10, 1974, The

Division of Manpower Development and Training of the U.S. Office of Education in 1974 solicited "proposals from qualified contractors who can provide a Career Development Program for women entering Manpower Development and Training (MDTA) programs to assist them in widening their occupation opportunities beyond clerical, health, and food services." It noted that "over 90 percent" of the female trainees in MDTA institutional programs "have been enrolled in either clerical, food services, or health related occupational training," and that although "the income level of both men and women increases after MDTA training, ...the income level of women after training has never reached the pre-training income level of men." U.S. Government Contracting Office, U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "New Careers for Women," Washington, D.C.: Stencil, 1974.

13. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, "Research Projects in Vocational Education: Fiscal Year 1974 Program, Funded Under Section 131(a), Part C, Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 P.L. 90-576," Stencil, July 1974.

14. Kathryn L. Mulligan, A Question of Opportunity: Women and Continuing Education, Washington, D.C.: The National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, March 13, 1973, p.25.

15. Interview, Mary Wingrove, Curriculum Development Branch, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, August 12, 1974; interview, Dr. Joyce Cook, Acting Chief, Demonstration Branch, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, August 16, 1974.

16. The State of Illinois' Office of Vocational Education in 1974 released a request for a proposal (RFP) for $30,000 for the development of curriculum materials to encourage girls to consider a wider range of jobs. Dr. JoAnn M. Steiger of Steiger, Fink and Smith, Inc., McLean, Virginia, was awarded the contract. The same year, the New Hampshire Office of Vocational Education used Part C monies to fund the development of instructional materials geared to women on "Careers in Building Trades." (Langdon Plumer, Director of Vocational Education, Exeter High School, Exeter, New Hampshire, letter to Pamela Roby, November 4, 1974). The Division of Occupational Research and Development of the Texas Education Agency has also used Part C monies to fund a demonstration project to develop a "model to recruit females into vocational programs that have traditionally been dominated by males and to maintain the increased female enrollment in these courses. Joseph E. Champagne is the principle investigator of the project which began February 1, 1975 in the Sam Houston High School. The project activities are being conducted by the co-directors, Jane Lerner and Fredell Bergstrom. Interview, Joseph E. Champagne, Principle Investigator, Project on Equal

Vocational Education, The Center for Human Resources, University of Houston, March 11, 1974. "Equal Vocational Education," A Project by the Center for Human Resources, University of Houston in cooperation with the Houston Independent School District, sponsored by the Division of Occupational Research and Development, Texas Education Agency, February 1975-June 1976, Houston, stencil, p.3.

17. Mary B. Kievit, President, American Vocational Education Research Association, letter to Pamela Roby, March 25, 1975.

18. Calculated from U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, Vol. 20, No. 11, May 1974, Table 820 and 821, pp. 32, 33.

19. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Why Women Work," Revised, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1974. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' "lower budget" income standard was $ 8,181, "intermediate budget" $12,626, and "high budget" $18,201, for an urban family of 4 in autumn 1973. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Autumn 1973 Urban Family Budgets and Comparative Indexes for Selected Urban Areas," June 16, 1974 press release, Table A, p.2. For a description of the concepts and procedures used in the development of the B.L.S. budgets see U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Three Standards of Living for an Urban Family of Four Persons." Bulletin No. 1570 5, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969, pp. 1-4.

20. U.S.Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Advanced Tables, stencil. The full-time year-round median, before-tax wage of female sales workers was $4,575; of non-farm laborers, $4,755; and of craft workers, $5,731 in 1972.

21. Mary Stevenson, "Women's Wages: The Cost of Being Female," paper presented to the Society for the Study of Social Problems, August 1972, p.8; cf. Mary Stevenson, The Determinants of Low Wages for Women Workers, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Department of Economics, University of Michigan, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1974; Barry Bluestone, William M. Murphy and Mary Stevenson, Low Wages and the Working Poor, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan, 1973; R. Bergman, "Occupational Segregation, Wages, and Profits When Employers Discriminate by Race of Sex," Journal of Political Economy, March-April, 1971.

22. Figures for hourly wages which exclude the effect of part-time and overtime work, support conclusions based on weekly earnings. Elizabeth Waldman and Beverly J. McEaddy, "Where Women Work - an Analysis by Industry and Occupation," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 97, No. 5, May 1974, p. 7.

23. Waldman and McEaddy, op. cit., p. 10.

24. In 1970 almost half a million women were working in skilled occupations, up from 277,000 in 1960. Janice Neipert Hedges and Stephen E. Bemis, op. cit., p. 14. 524,000 females over age 16 were in craft and kindred jobs in May 1974. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings: June 1974, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974, Tables 820 and 821, pp. 31 and 32.

25. Jon J. Durkin, The Potential of Women, Research Bulletin 87, Washington, D.C.: Johnson O'Connor Research Foundation, 1972.

26. Title IX, "Prohibition of Sex Discrimination," U.S. Education Amendments of 1972, Public Law 92-318, 92nd Congress, S. 659, June 23, 1972. Proposed Rules, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of the Secretary, Education Programs: Nondiscrimination on the Basis of Sex," Federal Register, Vol. 39, No. 120, Part II, June 20, 1974, pp. 22228-40.

27. Similar factors operate in higher education. Cf. Pamela Roby, "Structural and Internalized Barriers to Women in Higher Education," in Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (ed.), Toward a Sociology of Women, Lexington, Massachusetts: Xerox College Publishing, 1972, pp. 121-140, reprinted in Jo Freeman (ed.) Women: A Feminist Perspective, Palo Alton, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1974, pp. 171-194; Pamela Roby, "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education," Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood, (eds.), Academic Women on the Move, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973, pp. 37-56.

28. Sandra L.Bems and Daryl J. Bems, "Training the Woman to Know Her Place," Kathleen Barry, "A View from the Doll Corner," Leah Heyn, "Children's Books," Jamie K. Frisof, "Textbooks and Conditioning," and Donna Keek; "The Art of Maiming Women" all in Women, Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall 1969. Also see Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadher, Sexism in School and Society, New York: Harper and Row, 1973; and Scott, Foresman and Company, Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks, Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1972; M.B. U'Ren, "The Image of Women in Textbooks," in Vivian Gornick and B.K. Moran (eds.), Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness, New York: Basic Books, 1971; and D.B. Graebner, "A Decade of Sexism in Readers," The Reading Teacher, Vol. 26, October 1972.

29. See Leonore J. Weitzman, Deborah Eifler, Elizabeth Hokada and Catherine Ross, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children," American Journal of Society, Vol. 77, No. 6, May 1972; Elizabeth Fisher, "Children's Books: The Second Sex, Junior Division," New York Times Book Review, 1970, pp. 89-94; Ruth Hartley and A. Klein,

"Sex Role Concepts Among Elementary School-Age Girls," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 21, February 1959, pp. 59-64; and Ann Eliasberg, "Are You Hurting Your Daughter Without Knowing It?" Family Circle, February 1971. For an extensive analysis of 2,760 stories in 134 children's readers, see Women on Words and Images, Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers, Princeton, New Jersey: Women on Words and Images, 1972. It found that the stories included biographies about 88 different man and 17 women. The overall ratio of stories about boys to stories about girls was five to two.

30. 29.4 percent of the girls and 45 percent of the boys also believed that "Women should stick to women's jobs and not compete with men." Peggy W. Patrick, "Education and Counseling Status Report on Young Men and Women: A Survey of Senior Students from Fourteen Public Secondary Schools in Arkansas." Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, Little Rock, Arkansas, December 1972, cited in JoAnn M. Steiger, "Vocational Preparation for Women: A Critical Analysis," stencil prepared for the Research and Development Unit, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation, State of Illinois under Contract No. RDD A5-240, December 1974, p. 23.

31. Jack Conrad Willers, "The Impact of Women's Liberation on Sexist Education and Its Implications for Vocational-Technical and Career Education," paper delivered to the Regional Seminar/Workshop on Women in the World of Work conducted by the Technical Education Research Centers, stencil: Department of History and Philosophy of Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee, 1974, p. 8.

32. Peter E. Holmes, op. cit., pp. 11-12. Cf. Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, A Guide to Compliance Enforcement in Area Vocational-Education Schools (AVES) prepared by Policy and Program Development Branch, Elementary and Secondary Education Division, 1974, stencil, pp. 61. For local studies of vocational school policies that discriminate on the basis of sex, see: Jean L. Ambrose, "The Dual Problems of Sexism and Sex Discrimination in Vocational Education in New Jersey," Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey Education Association Publication No. ID-WIE-01; Marcia Federbush, Let Them Aspire! Ann Arbor, Michigan: A Report of the Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the Public Schools, Third Edition, January 1973; Gail Byran, Discrimination on the Basis of Sex in Occupational Education in the Boston Public Schools, Boston; stencil, the Boston Commission to Improve the Status of Women, 1972; Massachusetts Advisory Council on Vocational-Technical Education, "Status of Women in Occupational Education," in An Evaluation of Occupational Education in Massachusetts, Boston, Massachusetts: The Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Vocational-Technical Education, 1973, pp. 81-85; Regina Healy and Diane Lund, "Chapter 622: One State's Mandate," Inequality in

Education, No. 18, October 1974, pp. 36-46; Testimony of Raymond C. Parrot, Executive Director, Massachusetts Advisory Council on Vocational-Technical Education, submitted to the House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education, March 17, 1975.

33. The Comptroller General of the United States, What Is The Role of Federal Assistance for Vocational Education? Report to the Congress, Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1974, pp. 84, 86.

34. Marilyn Steele, Women in Vocational Education, Flagstaff, Arizona: Project Baseline Supplemental Report Submitted Under Contract to Technical Education Research Centers, Inc., October 30, 1974, pp. 45, 47, 48.

35. Ibid.

36. The Women's Equity Action League, the National Organization for Women, the National Education Association, he Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, the Association of Women in Science, and the United States National Student Association are the organizations which are plaintiffs in the case. Casper Weinberger, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Peter Holmes, Director of the Office for Civil Rights, HEW: Peter J. Brennan, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor; and Philip J. Davis, Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, DOL are the defendants. Women's Equity Action League et al, vs. Weinberger et al, presently pending in the District Court for the District of Columbia (Civil Action No. 74-1720).

37. Statement of Nancy Perlman, Director of the Department of Program Development, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Testifying on Behalf of the Coalition of Labor Union Women on Sex Discrimination in Vocational Education before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor, March 17, 1975, p. 9.

38. Florence Mintz, "Development of a Model for the Recruitment of Mature Women in Traditionally Male-Oriented Occupational Education Programs," A dissertation proposal for the Department of Vocational Education, Rutgers University, 1974, pp. 6, 5, 33.

39. In 1969, the year for which the most recent statistics are available, there were 176,500 births to unmarried girls age 19 and younger and about the same number of births to married girls which were conceived prior to marriage. Approximately three-fourths of these girls had not wanted to become pregnant. Most of these girls were banned from attending high school during their pregnancies, and many were unable to return after they gave birth. Many more girls with unwanted pregnancies resorted to abortions. Lee Morris, "Estimating the Need for Family Planning Services Among Unwed Teenagers," Family Planning Perspectives (F.P.P.), Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring 1974, p.93.

Cf. Sadja Goldsmith, Mary O. Gabrielson, Ira Gabrielson, Vicki Mathews and Leah Potts, "Teenagers, Sex and Contraception," F.P.P., Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1972; Melvin Zelnick and John F. Kanter, "The Resolution of Teenage First Pregnancies," F.P.P., Vol. 6, No. 2 Spring 1974; Zelnick and Kantner, "Sexuality, Contraception, and Pregnancy Among Young Unwed Females in the United States," in C.F. Westoff and R. Parke (eds.), Demographic and Social Aspects of Population Growth, Vol. 1, of Commission on Population Growth and the American Future Reports, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972; Mary E. Lane, "Contraception for Adolescents," F.P.P., Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1973, Elizabeth A. House and Sidja Goldsmith, "Planned Parenthood Services for the Young Teenager," F.P.P., Vol. 4, No. 2, April 1972; Jane Menken, "The Health and Social Consequences of Teenage Childbearing," F.P.P., Vol. 4, No. 3, July 1972.

40. Janice Law Trecker, "Sex Stereotyping in the Secondary School Curriculum," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. LV, No. 2, October 1973, p. 112.

41. Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, A Working Woman's Guide to Her Job Rights, Washington, D.C.: U.S.Government Printing Office, 1974, 38 pp.

42. Elizabeth Camp King, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

43. Ibid., p. 73.

44. The bachelor's, master's and doctor's degrees conferred in industrial arts, vocational and vocational/technical education, and agricultural education were similarly distributed among men and women. Women received the following percentage of the degrees conferred in 1970-71: industrial arts, vocational and vocational/technical education: 1.5 percent of the bachelors, 5.3 percent of the masters and 5.7 percent of the doctoral degrees; agricultural education: 1.0 percent of the bachelors, 4.7 percent of the masters, and 2.3 percent of the doctoral degrees; home economics education: 98.5 percent of the bachelors, 90.4 percent of the masters and 96.4 percent of the doctoral degrees. Mary Evans Hooper, Earned Degrees Conferred, 1970-71, National Center for Education Statistics, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C.: U.S.Government Printing Office, 1973, pp. 173-268 cited in Marilyn Steele, op. cit., p. 113.

45. The random sample of 400 directors was drawn from a total of 2,148 area vocational school directors in the United States. Patricia Tucker Sites, Perceptions of Professional Female Vocational Faculty and Their Administrators of the Role of Professional Women in Area Vocational Schools, a Dissertation for the Doctor of Education, Department of Vocational Education, The Pennsylvania State University, May 1975, pp. 29, 44. In December 1972, the House of delegates of the American Vocational Association at its Chicago Convention passed a resolution that "the American Vocational Association Board of Directors

authorize a study of professional employment in Vocational Education with regard to the number of males and females at every level of the profession, the salaries paid to each category of employee, and any restrictions in promotional opportunities because of sex." However, the Board of Directors did not authorize the study. Elizabeth Camp King, Perceptions of Female Vocational Faculty Members as Seen by Themselves and College Administrators, Bureau of Vocational Education, Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1973 preface, and interview, Angelo Gilli, Vice-President, American Vocational Association, March 31, 1975. The Sites study and the King study described above are a part of a series of studies on the status and roles of professional women in vocational education which is being conducted under the general supervision of Angelo C. Gilli, Sr. in the Department of Vocational Education and the Pennsylvania State University. The other studies are Thomas E. Long, "Vocational Female Faculty in Post-Secondary Proprietory Schools," and Eugenio Basualdo's dissertation (in process) on professional women and school administrators in comprehensive high school vocational programs. The Pennsylvania State University Department of Vocational Education has been granted only $3,877 to conduct all of these projects on women (these were funded by the Department of Vocational Education, The State of Pennsylvania, Project No. 14-3064 - "School Unit 4-10-14-720-1"). The Pennsylvania State Vocational Education Department, the research unit which has been most productive nationally in terms of research on women, was denied a request for another $11,000 for the replication of the female data for their male counterparts. Angelo C. Gilli, Sr., Professor and Chairman, Graduate Studies and Research, Department of Vocational Education, The Pennsylvania State University, letter to Pamela Roby, April 1, 1975.

46. Carol Karasik, "Women: The Job Ahead," Washington, D.C.: Technical Education Research Centers, January 1974, p. 2. In May 1975 one woman, Wilma Ludwig, was appointed as New Mexico's State Director of Vocational Education.

47. Public Law 90-576, 90th Congress, H.R. 18366, October 16, 1968, An Act to Amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963, Sec. 552(a).

48. P.L. 90-576, Sec. 553(a).

49. The eleven institutions of higher education were: University of California at Los Angeles, Colorado State University, University of Connecticut, University of Georgia, University of Illinois, University of Minnesota, Rutgers - The State University, North Carolina State University, Ohio State University, Oklahoma State University, Oregon State University. Phillyis D. Hamilton, Marian S. Stearns, Harold R. Winslow, Georgia Gillis, and Kathryn A. Preecs, The Education Professions 1973-1974: Personnel Development in Vocational Education, Manlo Park, California: Stanford Research Institute, October 31, 1974, prepared for National Center for Educational Statistics, pp. 9,10.

50. Ibid., pp. 89-90, 93.

51. Muriel Shay Tapman, Education Program Specialist, Vocational Education Personnel Development Staff, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, letter to Pamela Roby, March 13, 1975. Note: Fiscal year 1974 funds were utilized for programs which began in September, 1974, and terminate August, 1975.

52. 862 men, 149 women, 108 Blacks (81 males), 25 Spanish surname (19 males), 17 American Indian (12 males), 15 "other" (Phillipinos, Orientals, Hawaiians - all males), and 846 Caucasians (735 males) comprised the state advisory councils on vocational education in 1974. Data from JoAnne Steiger, National Advisory Council on Vocational Education staff member, interview, August 9, 1975.

53. The female members of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education are Joanne Cohen (student), Carolina Hughes and Margo Thornly.

54. P.L. 90-576, 90th Congress, H.R. 18366, October 16, 1968, "An Act to Amend the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and for other purposes," Sec. 104. Because appointments on state Advisory Councils on Vocational Education are not restricted numerically, appointment to them is less competitive than to the National Advisory Council. The State Councils are appointed by the Governor, except in those states where the State Board of Education is elected by the people, in which case the Council is appointed by the President of the State Board. Martha G. Bachman, Chairperson, Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, letter to Pamela Roby, December 2, 1974.

55. For a fine annotated bibliography on the determinants of women's career choices, see Helen S. Astin, Nancy Suniewick, and Susan Dweck, Woman: A Bibliography on Their Education and Careers, Washington, D.C.: Human Service Press, 1971, pp. 27-29.

56. No indepth study has been made of the effect of counseling in vocational education on girls' role development. A four-year longitudinal study involving interviews and psychological tests of female undergraduate students was conducted at Stanford University. The data reported from the study show that "women students need special encouragement to develop intellectual, artistic and professional ambitions." The study revealed further that "an interested male has the power to communicate to the maturing young woman that she is not damaging her femininity by developing her mind and skills. Sometimes even a subtle form of consent or disapproval from a male served as a stimulus for a young woman to advance or retreat." Marjorie M. Lozoff, "Abstract of College Influences on the Role Development of Female Undergraduates," stenciled, Palo Alto, California: Stanford Institute

for the Study of Human Problems, 1969, p. 3. Cf. Agnes C. Rozler, "Characteristics of High School Girls Choosing Traditional or Pioneer Vocations," Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. 45, pp. 659-665.

57. "Guidelines for Assessment of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career interest Inventories," Esther E. Diamond (ed.) Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975 (available from Career Education Program, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C. 20208), pp. xxiii-xxix; Cf. Carol B. Crump (ed.), Report of Proceedings: Workshop on Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Inventories, Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, November 1974.

58. In its descriptive brochure The Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities Project states, "In considering the question of sex equality, it is important to recognize that sex bias need not be blatant or malicious before it can be damaging. The subtle and pervasive stereotypic expectations of what is 'appropriate' sex role behavior for girls and boys can be a powerfully negative force which limits the opportunities and, therefore, the growth of children. Counselors and other educators are key individuals who motivate and guide students in the selection of course offerings and careers. Their programs and materials should be free of sex bias.

To reach these key persons, fifty-one counselors, the State Trainers of the SEGO Project (one from each state and the District of Columbia), were selected and brought to Washington, D.C. for an intensive four-day training workshop in sex fair guidance practices and attitudes. Among the topics included in the Training Workshop were the implications of Title IX, the law forbidding sex discrimination in educational institutions, guidelines for sex fair interest measurement, research on sex roles, assertiveness training, aspects of the Women's Movement, non-traditional counseling for boys and men, the double stereotyping of minority girls and women, values clarification, the counselor role as consultant to educational personnel and strategies for change.

The ripple effect of the Project will be carried out by the State Trainers who will go back to their states and conduct local workshops on sex fairness and equality under the Project's direction and funding. These local workshops will provide information on sex equality as well as techniques to insure a sex fair guidance program and educational experience for the nation's children.

The Project has developed a Multi-Media Kit for the State Trainers to use in the local workshops. The Kit contains nearly 100 items of print material on subjects related to the purposes of the Project. The Kit also contains A Chance to Choose, a new filmstrip on sex fair guidance produced by the Project. The following pages of this

booklet list the materials in the Kit along with the source and cost of each item. Additional information included in this booklet are lists of organizations, publishers and reports which provide helpful information and materials in regard to sex bias. These lists are not inclusive and are designed as a 'starter' set which we hope will lead to further resources. Also included is a list of the fifty-one State Trainers of the SEGO Project. A final report of the Project will be available in the fall of 1975".

For copies of this booklet or information about the Project, write to the SEGP Project, APGA, Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities Project, 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

59. Cf. Kaufman, op. cit., pp. 10-14; JoAnn Gardner, "Sexist Counseling Must Stop," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 49, 1971, pp. 705-715.

60. Larry J. Bailey and Ronald W. Stadt, Career Education: New Approaches to Human Development, Bloomington, Illinois: McKnight Publishing Company, 1973, p. 140.

61. McAlister, op. cit., pp. 92-93; Cf. H.A. Rose and C.F. Elton, "Sex and Occupational Choice," Journal of Counseling Psychology, Vol. 18, No. 5, 1971.

62. Bailey and Stadt, op. cit., p. 143.

63. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "The Myth and the Reality," Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

64. Bailey and Stadt., op. cit., p. 146.

65. Sally Hillsman Baker conducted an indepth case study of a large New York City vocational high school of fashion. The study, the most comprehensive to date of the influences of vocational education processes on women, found that the school, through a variety of actions, sorted women into different levels of work in the fashion industry according to their racial and ethnic background. Sally Hillsman Baker, Entry Into the Labor Market: The Preparation of Negro and White Vocational High School Graduates, unpublished PhD. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970.

66. I am indebted to Norma Wikler for this idea.

67. The Krumboltz Kits are now being distributed by Science Research Associates under the name "Job Experience Kits." Cf. John D. Krumboltz, et al, "Vocational Problem-Solving Experiences for Stimulating Career Exploration and Interest," Final Report to U.S. Office of Education under Contract No. OE-5-85-059, School of Education, Stanford University, August 1967; and Keumboltz, et al, "Vocational Problem-Solving Experiences for Stimulating Career Exploration and

Interest: Phase II," Final Report to U.S. Office of Education Under Contract No. OEG-4-7-070111-2890, School of Education, Stanford University, August 1968. (Documents Ed015517 and Ed029101, available from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P.O.Drawer '0', Bethesda, Md. 20014.)

68. "Equal Vocational Education," A Project by the Center for Human Resources, University of Houston in cooperation with the Houston Independent School District, sponsored by the Division of Occupational Research and Development, Texas Education Agency, February 1975 - June 1976, Houston, stencil, p.5.

69. Kaufman, op. cit., pp. 6-22.

70. JoAnn M. Steiger, "Overcoming Sex Stereotyping in Vocational Education: Recommendations for Revising the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968", stencil, McLean, Virginia: Steiger, Fink and Smith, Inc., 1974, p. 6.

71. Ibid., p. 5.

72. Wisconsin and North Carolina now have state funded positions to review all vocational education programs and research for sexual and racial bias and to encourage the development of positive programs for women and minorities.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR IMPACT ON BLACK WOMEN

Ethelrine Shaw

INTRODUCTION

The major purposes of this paper are to identify areas for study, and to delineate issues, concerns and trends which must be considered in assessing the impact of professional schools upon black women. There is much evidence to support the need to evaluate professional schools in relation to their adequacy and appropriateness for Blacks, for women and for other peoples of color. Professional schools generally retain closed membership practices for black women students and faculty and have not changed significantly as a result of Civil Rights Legislation and affirmative-action planning. In this paper professional schools are defined as higher degree granting institutions which prepare persons for occupations requiring general and special education and which are established to fulfill societal needs.

Affirmative-action programming, where it presently exists, is based upon requirements for federal funding. By the enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1965, institutions and organizations are required to deal with the problem of discrimination. At the time of enactment the enforcement authority was limited to voluntary, informal methods of conference, conciliation and persuasion. Since that time the enforcement has become less voluntary, using formal methods of documentation, direct assessment and, if the agency is not in compliance, withdrawal of funding. As a result, organizations and institutions utilizing federal funds began to take affirmative-action much more seriously. It is both amazing and saddening to know that the basis for informal authority was because discrimination was thought to be a human problem of isolated events. Although formal methods have been established to document and assess institutions for compliance, professional schools within higher educational systems retain closed membership practices. The written discriminatory policies of the 1950's continue to be, the conscious or unconscious, unwritten policies of the 1970's. Individuals administrating and managing programs within institutions of higher education have become more proficient in the manner in which they respond to questions about their compliance with affirmative-action policies, programs and procedures. In addition, programs which were developed to facilitate admission, progression and graduation of minorities from higher educational systems, have primarily focused upon changing the minority student and not upon the structure, process and outcomes of the curriculum.

The professional schools which offer a direct service to black women have not, for example, systematically included within their curriculums normative data about black people - their health, their family, their economics. Similarly the regulatory and licensor bodies do not systematically test graduates on content about differences in, for example, symptoms of illness in black people. In addition many organizations using testing as a basis for certifying their practitioners do not include test items related to culturally diverse groups. This means in general that

large segments of the population are not having their biophysical or psychosocial needs addressed by the products of higher educational systems.

The inclusion of content in curriculum which related to all segments of a pluralistic society should be an indicator of quality education. The inclusion of students and faculty who are representative of a culturally diverse society should be an indicator of the quality of an educational program. Lastly, expanding the labor force with creative and talented individuals should be an indicator of the quality of an educational system. In order to determine the impact of professional schools upon black women one must begin by assessing the "status quo".

Self-Assessment - Black Women Students in Higher Educational Systems.

Many institutions of higher education publicize statistical or demographic data about women students but make no distinctions between black and white women. Sets of data published by administrative units such as Offices of Minority Affairs do not distinguish between black females and black males. As a result, public and private agencies such as the Bureau of the Census, Bureau of Health Resources, the Manpower Resource Service, and Scientific Manpower Commission do not generally include data sets in which data is delineated about black women students. There is a need for specific focus upon the admission, progression and graduation of black women from professional schools. These data sets are primarily needed to raise the level of consciousness of those in influential positions within higher educational systems to the non-existence and mal-distribution of black women students. The following statistical data is offered in order to validate the inference that professional schools have minimal impact in the educational preparation of black women.

Freshman enrollment trends of black women in institutions of higher education fluctuated (see Table 1) in the period from 1971 to 1973. In 1972, 10 percent of freshman women in all institutions of higher education were Black.

TABLE I
RACIAL BACKGROUNDS OF FRESHMEN IN
ALL INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
1971, 1972, 1973 (1)

	1971		1972		1973	
Racial Background	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Black	5.5	7.2	7.6	10.0	7.0	8.6
White	92.1	90.6	88.4	85.9	89.1	87.9

In 1973 the figure was 8.6 percent. Enrollment trends for black men have been lower; however, in 1974, there was proportionately slightly fewer

72

black women completing four years of college or more (see Table II) in comparison with 1966 and 1970. Constance M. Carrole summarizes the situation in the following statement:

> Even though black women enter college in roughly the same or often larger proportions than do black men, black men are more likely to receive an advanced degree beyond the Masters degree and thereby gain access to positions in college or universities. (3)

TABLE II
PERCENT OF POPULATION 25-34 YEARS OLD WHO COMPLETED 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE OR MORE 1960, 1966, 1970 and 1974. (2)

	Black			White		
Year	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1960	4.1	4.1	4.0	11.9	15.8	8.3
1966	5.7	5.2	6.1	14.6	18.9	10.4
1970	6.1	5.8	6.4	16.6	20.9	12.3
1974	8.1	8.8	7.6	21.0	24.9	17.2

The writer's institution, the Ohio State University, represents a microcosm of big ten universities. The small numbers of black students as compared with white students enrolled in Autumn Quarter 1975 (see Table III) reflects the small percentages of students enrolled in selected colleges and undergraduate programs within the university. During the quarter, a total of 54,640 students were enrolled of which 2,799 (5.1 percent) were Black.

TABLE III
NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS*(4)

Selected Colleges	Blacks	%	Non Blacks
Dentistry	6	1.0	579
Law	42	6.3	620
Medicine	28	4.0	670
Optometry	2	0.7	277
Veterinary Med.	2	0.4	520
Masters	244	5.4	4,285
PhD.	199	4.6	4,133
Total	523		11,084

Selected Undergraduate Programs	Blacks	%	Non Blacks
Education	88	4.2	1,545
Home Economics	44	4.9	861
Nursing	20	2.7	735
Allied Med. Programs	15	2.7	539
Pharmacy	13	2.5	499
Journalism	34	6.1	519
Social Work	96	24.5	198
Total	310		4,896

*Number of Students and horizontal percentages of Blacks are not included for all coleges and undergraduate programs within The Ohio State University.

The number of black students enrolled in the professions from 1971 to 1972 (see Table IV) are not divided into sets which would distinguish black women from black men. The low percentages of Blacks enrolled are very significant when one considers that in 1975 Blacks represented approximately 11.4% of the general population (24.4 million persons.) (6)

TABLE IV
BLACK ENROLLMENT IN THE PROFESSIONS
1971 - 1972 (5)

Profession	Number	Percent Black
Law	3,732	4.0
Medicine	3,292	3.6
Dentistry	601	3.6
Engineering	4,831	2.1
Architecture	1,000	4.0
Communications	1,000	1.1
Doctoral Programs	2,282	1.1
Optometry	32	1.1
Veterinary Medicine	96	1.8
Pharmacy	659	3.7
Total Number	17,525	

A survey of black students enrolled in graduate school (see Table V) reflect larger numbers of black students in education, health professions, basic social sciences and the paucity of students enrolled in engineering, life sciences and mathematical sciences.

TABLE V
REPRESENTATION AND ENROLLMENT OF
BLACK GRADUATE STUDENTS BY FIELD, FALL 1973
(Represents 154 Institutions) (7)

Field of Study	Total Enrollment	Black Students as Percent of Enrollment	
Arts & Humanities	53,920	2.8	1,516
Education	96,568	7.2	6,990
Engineering	31,273	1.2	368
Health Professions	13,238	5.5	727
Life Sciences (Biology, Biochemistry, Microbiology, Physiology and others)	27,641	1.5	419
Physical Sciences	21,629	1.4	299
Mathematical Sciences	12,446	2.5	305
Basic Social Sciences (Economics, Psychology Sociology & Others)	35,583	4.1	1,471

Obviously, there is a need for data sets which are more indicative of the number of black women enrolled in undergraduate as well as graduate programs. It is disheartening to see the decreasing number of Blacks admitted to institutions of higher education as well as the lack of change in the percent of Blacks in professional schools. Information must be gathered which can be used in identifying the "whys". An analysis of the problems which effect the admission, progression and graduation of black women from institutions of higher education is the next step in assessing the impact of higher educational systems upon black women.

Self-Assessment - Black Women in the Labor Force.

The need for constructive action to end discrimination in the employment, pay and promotion of minorities (including women) in higher education has been well documented in a report of the Carnegie Council on policy studies in higher education. Statistical data are presented which, for example, reflects (1) the small number of women prepared for teaching in higher education institutions (2) the lower salaries received by women faculty as compared with men faculty and (3) data sets which are not sub-divided between black and white women or black women and black men. It is most obvious by observation that black women faculty within higher education are almost non-existent. One reason has been previously discussed and relates to the small number of black women enrolled in graduate programs. The traditional disciplines for women, such as education, social work and nursing, continue to attract black women students. The numbers of those women enrolled within graduate programs and the number prepared at the doctorate level continues to be relatively

few. The availability of black women for teaching positions in institutions of higher education will continue to be low until more black women students are prepared at undergraduate and graduate levels of education. In 1969 higher educational institutions employed more black females with doctorates than any other institution. (See Table VI).

TABLE VI
EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK DOCTORATES, 1969 (8)

Employment	Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%
College & Universities	729	84.8	208	88.9
Government	47	5.4	11	4.7
Social Agencies	42	4.9	11	4.7
Industry	28	3.2	1	.4
Other	16	1.8	3	1.2
Total	862		234	

The black woman professional continues to struggle with two communities. Her profession often impels her to function within the dominant community which denies the existence of racism and she lives within the black community which denies the existence of sexism. The distribution of Blacks in the labor force of selected professions (See Table VII) is indicative of the small percentage of black women and men practicing in selected professions in 1972.

TABLE VII
DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS IN WORK
FORCE OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS, 1972 (9)

Professional Field	% of Blacks
Law	2
Medicine	2
Dentistry	3
Engineering	2
Architecture	.6
Journalism	1
Broadcasting	4
Ph.D's in all Fields	1

Although it is assumed that the numbers of black female registered nurses is high, the percentage is small (see Table VIII) when one compares the number of black registered nurses with the number of white registered nurses.

76

TABLE VIII
REGISTERED NURSES (10)

Race	No.	%	Male	%	Female	%
All Races	279,658		21,983	100.0	813,814	
Black	65,224	7.8	3,572	16.3	61,652	7.6

Black nurses are most concerned about the numbers of black nurses educated at the diploma or associate degree levels as opposed to receiving baccalaureate and graduate education.

An analysis of the problems, which affect the employment, pay and promotion of black women faculty within institutions of higher education is a prerequisite to increasing the number of black women faculty. Although some institutions of higher education have launched affirmative-action programs with specific objectives, time-tables and program activities, their scope is limited and often developed without appropriate input from black women students and faculty. The problems which effect entry into the institution, as a student or as a faculty member, are varied and complex. If the black woman is to impact professional schools by seeking admission or applying for faculty positions, her attitudes about, and perceptions of, the professional schools must be identified. Research tools must be developed in order to identify attitudes, perceptions and behaviors. Examples of questions which might be asked of black women students are:

1. How was your self-image affected by your educational experience?

2. Were there differences in your values (real or ideal) as a result of your educational experiences?

3. What were the factors which influenced your selection of a particular program and career?

4. What was your socialization process into the professional school?

These are but a few of the questions which might be raised in an attempt to determine how the student was affected by the professional school. Many black women students appear to become disenchanted and overly frustrated. Why does this occur? The writer does not believe it is due to a lack of motivation, intellectual capacity or deficits in creative and analytical thinking.

The public image of black women as professional persons is almost non-existent. This lack of public visibility contributes to societal myths and keeps black professional women from serving as role models for black youth. How many film strips, video tapes or other media, used for

educational purposes, include black women physicians, lawyers or nurses? How many pictures in text books portray black women as professionals? How much research has been conducted about the attitudes of black women professionals towards their profession and towards positions held within those professions? Researchers such as Bell, Epstein, Ladner and Reid have studied black women but more needs to be done in relation to the perceptions and life styles of black women professionals. This data would contribute to the literature which then could be read by students. The importance of such data should overshadow concern about misuse of data.

Self-Assessment - Structure, Process, Outcome.

Higher Education Institutions clearly establish, in their statement of purpose, their commitment to teach, to give service and to conduct research. Departments and divisions within the educational setting establish program goals related to the purpose of the larger institution. Each of the departments and divisions have a structure and process by which they achieve their goals. In order to maintain their relevancy they evaluate curriculum and other program outcomes. Let's examine the faculty within the professional school. Admission, progression and graduation criteria are developed and monitered by the faculty. The indicators for successful achievement of educational objectives of the curriculum are based upon (1) Standard tests which evaluate previously acquired knowledge and abilities and (2) interviews which determine student motivation and commitment. Faculty interviewing potential students are usually male and white. They often have no criteria (good or bad) for determining student motivation and base conclusions upon factors which may not be accurate if one is Black and female. There is no way to determine if decisions about the admission or non-admission of students are based upon fact or the value system of the faculty member. Strategies should be developed which would help the professional school in determining appropriate admission indicators of student achievement and educational objectives. The current generation of faculty will in part assess student performance on the basis of their value systems unless techniques are developed and employed which, for example, will help faculty understand verbal and non-verbal communication techniques of peoples of color. All too many faculty have not deemed it essential to become knowledgeable about the lifestyles and experiences of other than the dominant group. Often, black faculty must assist non-Blacks in increasing their sensitivity and awareness as they interpret the behaviors of the black student.

Let's examine content taught by the faculty for its' inclusiveness and relevancy to all societal members. Health professionals should be taught about the health status of black women. The fact that deaths from low birth weight and tuberculosis as well as fetal and infant mortality rates are substantially higher in racial minorities should be included in courses in nursing, medicine and allied health professions. Sociology

students and others should realize that socio-economic status and place of residence are not the sole indicators of the quality of life for black persons. Further, the professional schools should be conducting research and implementing programs aimed towards resolution of the problem. Educational programs should not only be conducted with students but also with recipients of the particular service.

The process of determining an educational institution's degree of effectiveness, in meeting its objectives, is an approach to program evaluation. There are many steps included in the model which is constructed for evaluation; however, emphasis must be placed upon the desired end results. There are a number of other ways to assess program effectiveness. In those universities representing the "Big Ten" only few programs of evaluation have been initiated at the University Level. The writer is suggesting that models be developed by which professional schools could be evaluated in relation to structure and process-outcome for black women.

Professional Schools are not only monitored by groups within the university but are also monitored by groups external to the university. External to the university are State Legislative bodies, accrediting bodies and State Boards of Registration, Education and Licensure. Strategies need to be developed to assure that criteria for accreditation and written examination items reflect a multi-racial society. If regulatory bodies are established to protect the public by monitoring the professions' practitioners, then they must monitor practices for all segments of society. Some professional organizations develop standards to guide the teaching practice, research and continuing education activities of its' practitioners. Evaluation models need to be developed which would assist these external groups in evaluating the program and the graduates of those schools.

CONCLUSION - The Beginning.

This paper has not treated such a broad area of content in the depth which it deserves. The writer has raised many questions which can only be answered by designing and conducting research strategies. The problems which face all Americans are many and it will take this nation's resources and energies to resolve them. These are not black problems but American problems. They can be resolved by Americans.

FOOTNOTES

1. Professional Women and Minorities - A Manpower Resources Service, Scientific Manpower Commission, May, 1975, p. 28 (hereafter cited as Professional Women and Minorities).

2. Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the U.S., 1974, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 54, July, 1975, p. 69 (hereafter cited as Social and Economic Status).

3. Carroll, Constance M. "Three's a Crowd: The Dilemma of the Black Woman in Higher Education," Academic Women on the Move, Edited by Alice Ros and Ann Calderwood, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, pg. 174.

4. Table constructed by author from data provided by The Ohio State University, Office of Minority Affairs, Winter, 1975.

5. Professional Women and Minorities, p. 86.

6. Social and Economic Status, p. 2.

7. Professional Women and Minorities, pp. 29-30.

8. Ibid., p. 116.

9. Ibid.

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COUNSELING IMPLICATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN'S MARKET POSITION, ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTANCIES

Patricia Gurin

and

Anne Pruitt

PREFACE

This paper covers data on four general topics: the market position of black women, data from a national sample on the ways in which black women have tried to alter their situations in a discriminatory market, data from a series of studies conducted in historically black colleges on the occupational and educational aspirations of women in college, and data from two national samples on the role of expectancies in the work motivation of black women. Then we turn to a framework for counseling and draw implications from these four areas of data for the career and educational counseling of black women. We have drawn from many people's research and writing's but we particularly want to note the significant contributions of the work of Phyllis A. Wallace, the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the employment status of black women, and of Janice Porter Gump, Howard University, on the work motivation of black women.

The Market Position of Black Women

Career and educational counseling for women needs to be based on a thorough understanding of their market position. This is particularly true if counseling is to address the needs of black women since many people continue to believe that black women enjoy a favored position in the market. We cannot hope to develop programs that implement affirmative action for black women if it is believed that black women do not face serious problems in the market.

Unfortunately, typical presentations of sex and race differentials in wages and occupational position have contributed to, rather than, corrected the erroneous picture of black women as having an edge in the market. Although fewer black women work in the top professions and earn the least of the four sex and race groups, statistics have been exhibited and interpreted in a way that suggests that black women fare relatively well. This has occurred because sex and race discrimination have been treated as totally separate phenomena. Analyses of race discrimination compare the earnings (or job classifications) of Blacks and whites, controlling sex, and show that black men experience more discrimination than black women. Analyses of market discrimination by sex compare the earnings of women and men, controlling race, and generally show that white women experience more discrimination than black women. In addition, shifts since 1950 indicate that race discrimination has decreased against black women more than against black men and that sex discrimination has decreased against black women more than against white women. These relative comparisons of race discrimination among men and women, and sex discrimination among Blacks and whites, generally have not been interpreted as indicating that black women suffer both sources of discrimination. Failure to do so has resulted in a distorted depiction of the employment status of black women.

Let us examine statistics on each source of discrimination and then show how an accurate picture of the status of black women depends on using which men as the normative group for all other comparisons.

Race Discrimination Against Black Women

All of us assembled at this conference know that black women experience discrimination as Blacks. It may come as a surprise, therefore, that a recent, important paper on race discrimination concluded that market discrimination against black women no longer operated by the end of the sixties.[2] Freeman drew this conclusion in part because the earnings of Black, relative to white, women had improved between 1950 and 1970 so much more than the earrings of Black, relative to white, men. Freeman himself notes, however, that the greater improvement in the Black-white income ratio for women was as much the result of a slow increase in the incomes of white women as a rapid increase in the incomes of black women.[3] Perhaps even more important to Freeman was the fact that race differentials in the incomes of workers at various educational levels indicated not only

lack of discrimination but actually an economic edge for college educated black women.[4] By contrast, race discrimination operated even against highly educated black men. Finally, income comparisons of just professional workers also showed that race discrimination appeared to operate against black men but not against black women.[5] Since the presumed economic edge of college educated, professional black women was so crucial in Freeman's conclusions, let us examine the data carefully.

Numerous people[6] have suggested that differences in the work histories of black and white women could account for income parity at the high school level and an income edge at the college level, despite continuation of race discrimination against black women. Wage comparisons of black and white women, however, typically have not been presented with work history adjustments. Table 1 shows the effect of controlling number of weeks of employment in a given year on the comparative incomes of black and white women. Even this control, which should be less powerful than a control for continuity of participation in the market, results in very different conclusions about racial wage discrimination among women. The comparisons of the median incomes of all black and white women in the experienced civilian labor force in 1969 show the usual educational effects in which income parity between the two groups was reached at the high school graduation level and in which black women with at least some college earned more than comparably educated white women. By contrast, the comparisons of black and white women who worked 50 to 52 weeks in 1969 show evidence of race discrimination at every level of education in every age cohort. Highly educated black women earned less than highly educated white women among the fully committed workers. Among women 25 to 34 years of age the following reversals occur by controlling for number of weeks of employment. With one to three years of college, black women earned $168 more than white women when amount of employment was not controlled but $180 less when full time workers were compared. With four years of college black women earned $235 less instead of $215 more than white women when weeks of employment was controlled. And even with education beyond the baccalaureate degree, black women earned $171 less instead of the $355 more in the usual uncontrolled comparisons.

The same point is made by Table 2 in which the median incomes of all professional and technical workers with at least some college education are presented. Opposite conclusions result when comparisons are made of women professionals in the total experienced labor force and of those who worked 50 to 52 weeks in 1969. In the experienced civilian labor force black women professionals did earn more than white women. But comparisons of black and white women professionals who worked 50 to 52 weeks show that white, not black, women earned more. To illustrate using the age group 25 to 34 years: with one to three years of college the usual comparisons show that black women earned $706 more than white women but $205 less when weeks of employment was controlled. Black women professionals who were college graduates earned $271 less instead of $203 more, and black and white women professionals with post-baccalaureate training showed income parity instead of the black edge of $432 in the usual comparisons.

These tables thus demonstrate clearly that black women, even those who are highly educated and who hold professional jobs, do experience wage discrimination by race when their income advantage from more full time employment is controlled.

What do typical analyses of race differentials in occupational positions indicate about the market position of black women? Historically black women have been more severely under-represented, relative to white women, in clerical occupations. Despite recent increases in the employment of black women in clerical jobs, they were still under-represented in the clerical area as well as in most other non-service occupations in 1970. Ashenfelter's and Heckman's analysis of the 1970 EEO-1 reports filed by 40,455 establishments in the country show that black women were about 1/3 as likely as white women to be in managerial and professional jobs, 1/2 as likely to be in sales, and 2/3 as likely to be in clerical jobs. (Under-representation was greatest in the South where black women were only 1/2 as likely as white women to be in managerial jobs and 1/3 as likely to be in sales, clerical and professional jobs.)[8] A refined breakdown of 1970 census figures[9] for professional jobs also shows that black women were particularly under-represented, relative to white women, in the most prestigious, top professions. They were only 1/3 as likely to be engineers, 1/5 as likely to be lawyers, 1/2 as likely to be life, physical, or social scientists, 1/4 as likely to be physicians, 1/2 as likely to be college teachers, and 1/2 as likely to be non-health technicians.

It is true, nonetheless, that black women experience less race discrimination than black men do. That black men suffer relatively more race discrimination is incontrovertible. All of the comparisons in Tables 1 and 2 make that clear. Likewise, Ashenfelter and Heckman[10] show that race differences in occupational position are greater among men than among women. In 1966 black women had achieved 85 percent the occupational positions of white women; in 1970 black women held positions that were 89 percent that of white women. By contrast, in 1966 black men had achieved 77 percent the occupational positions of white men; in 1970 black men held positions that were 80 percent that of white men.

Sex Discrimination Against Black Women

The relatively greater race discrimination of men is misinterpreted, however, when used to imply that black women have a better economic position than black men. Black women earn less than black men at every educational level and in every age cohort. Considering the age range 25 to 64 who worked 50 to 52 weeks in 1969, black women with some college education earned $2,323 less than comparably educated black men; with college degrees black women earned $1,834 less; with post-baccalaureate training black women earned $2,586 less than men (see Table 1). Controlling both education and occupation shows an even larger male edge. With one to three years of college, black women who worked full time in professional and technical jobs earned $1,947 less than men; with college degrees black women earned $2,030 less; with advanced training black women professionals earned $2,713

less than black men professionals (see Table 2). How then has it been possible to view black women, particularly highly educated black women, as better off economically than black men?

The fact that more black women than men in the nation at large (10.87 percent compared to 5.67 percent in 1970)[11] hold professional jobs is frequently used as evidence of the black women's employment edge. A more detailed analysis of professional jobs shows, however, that black women, like white women, work disproportionately in the lower status professions. A comparison of the proportion of black women and black men in the six highest paying professions in 1970 reveals that more black men than women were doctors (men .12%; women .92%), lawyers (men .07%; women .01%), non-health technical professionals (men .61%; women .18%), engineers (men .33%; women .02%), physical and social scientists (men .17%; women .08%). Black women had achieved parity with black men only in college teaching (.21% of each group.)[12] Moreover, black women earned less than black men within every category of worker and at every education level. Take these six top professions: in 1970 black women doctors earned $16,438 less than black men doctors; women professional technicians (engineering and science) earned $2,153 less and women technicians in other non-health fields earned $2,286 less than men; women engineers earned $2,781 less than men; women physical scientists earned $2,135 less and women social scientists $4,724 less than men; women college teachers earned $3,230 less than men. (The Census Bureau did not calculate median earnings for black women lawyers because there were so few.)[13]

These comparisons document sizeable sex differentials in the earnings and job status of black men and women. Moreover, Oaxaca[14] estimates that sex discrimination accounts for 55.6% of their differences in earnings. This is a conservative estimate of discrimination since it is based on a set of wage regressions in which adjustments were made for sex differences in occupational classification, type of industry, and class of worker. This eliminates the effects of occupational barriers as sources of discrimination. There is general agreement that occupational differentiation and channelling are powerful mechanisms by which sex differentials in earnings occur. If these indicators of occupational placement were not controlled, Oaxaca estimates that discrimination would then account for 93.6% of the earnings differences between black men and black women.[15]

Most analyses also show, however, that black women experience less sex discrimination than white women do. The statistics presented by Freeman[16] indicate that white women earned only 46 percent as much as white men while nonwhite women earned 55 percent that of nonwhite men. Likewise, sex differentials in occupational position are somewhat larger among whites than among Blacks. In 1970 white women were in positions 51 percent that of white men; black women were in positions 57 percent that of black men.[17] Finally, analyses of shifts since the fifties and sixties demonstrate that black women have gained access to traditionally white female jobs at a faster rate than black men have gained access to traditionally white male jobs.[18]

The Double Source of Discrimination Against Black Women

We have seen from a single focus on race differentials that black women do experience race discrimination, even at the highest levels of education. Their apparent economic edge disappears when adjustments are made for their more frequent full-time employment. This single source of discrimination, however, is not as great for black women as for black men. Black women also experience sex discrimination in the market, although this single source of inequity is not as great for black women as for white women.

It should be obvious that one of the problems in drawing accurate conclusions about the employment status of black women in the shifting base-line of comparison is the separate analyses of sex and race discrimination. Black women are the only group never compared to white men in these typical discrimination analyses. Since white men hold jobs with the highest occupational indices and earn the highest salaries, any group compared to them inevitably appears particularly disadvantaged in the market.

The market problems of black women can easily be obscured, therefore, by a single focus on either source of discrimination. Black women experience both sources of discrimination, the combination of which puts them in the least favored economic position. This is clear when all groups are compared to white men but is easily lost when only the typical sex and race differentials are presented. Table 4 shows this. Black women's incomes and occupational positions reflect the lowest ratios, relative to white men, despite the fact that the typical race differential statics show that race discrimination is greater against black men than women and that the typical sex differential statistics show that sex discrimination is greater against white than black women.

An excellent example of this problem was pointed out by Reagan[19] in commenting on Ashenfelter's and Heckman's analysis of occupational shifts between 1966 and 1970. Ashenfelter and Heckman[20] note that the increase for black women in occupational position was almost twice that for black men. Further, they conclude that if this rate of change was maintained indefinitely, black women would attain the same occupational position as white women in eleven years while black men would not reach parity with white men for thirty-five years. Reagan highlights that an opposite conclusion would be drawn if the rate of change of both black men and black women were relative to white men:

> When the change in occupational position of black females from 1966 to 1970 is compared with the change in occupational position of anglo males, the index for black women was 43.5 percent of the index for anglo men in 1966 and 45.3 percent in 1970, an increase of 1.8 percentage points. This is only about <u>three-fourths</u> the upward movement made by black men (an increase of 2.3 percentage points). Thus, the inference that the rate of change for black women from 1966-70 is much <u>better</u> than for black men is not warranted.[21]

If white men were used as the normative base for all other groups, Reagan suggests it would then be reasonable to develop the following projections. If the 1966-70 rate of change were to be maintained indefinitely, black women would have the same occupational position as white women in approximately eleven years. Continuing this rate of change, black women would not reach the occupational position of white men for more than 135 years (compared to the 35 years for black men).[22] Black women as a whole certainly do not then appear more advantaged than black men.

The Role of Educational and Job Changes in Handling a Discriminatory Market

We and some of our colleagues participated in the Survey Research Center's national election study of 1972. We included a number of questions about people's labor market experiences, their perceptions of obstacles in the market, and what they have tried to do to change their own situations. We wanted to explore how market experiences may have reduced black men's and women's and white women's expectancies of success, and, thereby perhaps resulted in different behavior in the market. Although the analyses are not yet completed, the results to date show that expectancies do seem to mediate the impact of market experiences and might therefore serve as important supply characteristics of both groups of women and black men. We will present some of the evidence about the role of expectancies in the next section of this paper in which we examine aspirations, expectancies, and other psychological characteristics in greater detail.

Answers to questions about obstacles and what people have done to alter their situations reveal a focus on education among black women that suggests some concerns for counseling and career education for black women. The national sample that was interviewed in 1972 included approximately 10 percent black respondents but this turns out to be only 102 black men and 165 black women. Thus, we should not over-generalize their responses and caution ourselves about the implications of the results for counseling. On the other hand, we feel more comfortable talking about results from this national study than from much of the literature written about the work-related experiences and motivation of black workers since most studies have depended on highly specialized, rather than, national samples of Blacks.

Both black men and women indicated greater awareness of obstacles than did either white men or women. More Blacks (60% men, 64% women) than whites (20% men, 26% women) said that they had been held back in some ways rather than having had a fair opportunity to make the most of themselves in life. More Blacks (63% men, 53% women) than whites (33% of both sexes) said that they had had to settle for less than they had hoped for. The reasons offered to explain why people felt they had been held back or had had to settle for less than they had hoped were

not strikingly different by race or by sex except that more black men and women (approximately 33% of both sexes) than whites (14% men, 6% women) voluntarily talked about problems in the economy and about social inequities, particularly racial discrimination. That a third of the black sample brought up societal, structural problems in answering an open-ended question that did not specifically probe for discrimination and economic problems in a striking level of awareness. When asked specifically about obstacles to getting a job or promotion the respondent had wanted in the past or might want in future, more Blacks (70% men, 55% women) than whites (about 33% of both sexes) said that their educations had limited them. More Blacks (59% men, 39% women) then whites (2% of both sexes) also said that race, nationality, or religion had held them back in the job market. In these ways black men and women both agreed about the existence of obstacles, that these obstacles stem from structural problems, and that education has further served to affect their changes for good jobs and promotions in a discriminatory market. We do not want to imply that black women differed from black men in their views about the market or in their assessments of the importance of education in handling a discriminatory market.

More black women, however, than all other groups did talk about education in response to the following question:

> "Was there ever a time when you tried to change what you were doing--for example, entered a training program, went back to school, tried to go into a different type of work--things that would really change what you were doing?"

Answers to this question were coded in great detail and later collapsed for analysis purposes into five major categories: non-college educational changes, college educational changes, job training, work changes, and other. More black women said that they had tried to make educational changes, the vast majority of whom had tried to return to high school or to enter technical (or non-college professional) schools. (See Table 4.) Althogether 82 percent of the black women (but just 46% of the white men, 44% of the black men, and 60% of the white women) had attempted educational changes. By contrast, many fewer black women had tried to make work changes such as changing jobs or line of work, trying to go into business for themselves, or taking exams to qualify for training, apprenticeship programs. Only 10 percent of the black women (but 46% of the white men, 41% of the black men, and 37% of the white women) said they had tried these workrelated changes.

Not everyone had tried to make changes in their lives. Slightly more of the white men (43%) than black men (34%) or black women (35%) had attempted these changes. Fewer white women (26%) had made such attempts. We also asked, therefore, whether people who had actually tried to make these changes had ever thought about doing something like that. Black women did not differ much from black men or white women in

what they had thought about doing. More of all three groups emphasized education than work changes. It was only among white men that more respondents reported thinking about work than about educational changes. (Fifty-seven percent of the white men but only 16 percent of the black men, 25 percent of the white women, and 15 percent of the black women talked about work-related changes.)

Thus, we see that black women stressed education both as something they had actually tried to change and something they at least thought about doing. In contrast, white men stressed work changes both as actual attempts and as changes they had thought about making. And, while black men agreed with black women that education had been limiting in the market and as frequently had thought about going back for more education, more black men than women had actually tried to make work changes. Even compared to white women who stressed education more than white men, black women focused less on work-related changes. Moreover, these differences do not reflect differences in the educational attainments of the four groups. In the first place, educational differences were not sizeable, although a smaller proportion of black women in the sample had gone to college (17 percent compared to 38% of the white men, 26% of the black men, and 25% of the white women). Further, the differences in what respondents had thought about or actually tried to do held up even when they were examined just for people who had not gone to college. (We had to combine the responses about actual attempts and considered changes because the control for education breaks the already small sample of Blacks down even further.) More of the non-college educated black women talked about educational changes and fewer of them mentioned work-related changes. The changes they discuss contrast strikingly with those mentioned by non-college educated white men. (See Table 5.)

Is increased education as important as job changes, job training, or attempts to get into apprenticeship programs in producing a better economic situation for black women? What does previous research tell us about the relative importance of education, occupational placement, and other aspects of black women's employment status in accounting for their earnings? Human capital research by economists and the new sociological research emphasis on processes of socioeconomic attainment do not provide as many clues as we had hoped about the role of educational and occupational characteristics in the market position of black women. Most of the work that decomposes earnings into ascribed status effects, the respondent's own supply characteristics, and race discrimination has been carried out on men.[23] Most of the work that has followed the same model to tease out the importance of supply characteristics and sex discrimination has been carried out on whites.[24] Generally, this work shows that the models that account for the income attainments of white males do less well in explaining the incomes of black men and white women. Black men and white women are not as able as white men to translate their own educational and occupational achievements into income. This is generally attributed to constricted market opportunities.

What does the limited available research specifically on black women suggest about the role of education and occupational placement in their market situation? Treiman and Terrell[25] show that education is an important predictor of occupational position for black women, just as it is for white men and white women. (Data were not provided for black men). In addition, education and occupation placement carried nearly equal weight in predicting the incomes of employed married black women. Occupational placement, however, was more important than education in the incomes of single black women. In addition number of hours worked was more important than either education or occupational placement for both single and married black women. (The greater importance of hours worked and continuity in the labor market beyond either education or occupational position is even more striking for white women.)[26]

Oaxaca's[27] analysis of the earnings of the four race and sex groups likewise shows that several measures of both black and white women's employment status outweighed the significance of their educations in accounting for their incomes. The employment status measures that carried higher regression weights than education for both groups of women included: whether they were members of a union, employed by the government, self-employed (a negative determinant for black women), type of industry in which they worked, and their occupational positions (census categories). Another way to illustrate the heightened significance of these occupational characteristics is their importance in accounting for differences in the earnings of black men and black women. The specific industry in which black women worked accounted for 25 percent of the difference; the occupations black women held accounted for another 11 percent; whether they belonged to unions, worked for the government or were self-employed accounted for another 3 percent. This menas that if black women held positions in the market identical in these respects to those of black men, the differences in their earnings would be reduced by 39 percent. The next most important personal factor was marital status which accounted for only 1.8 percent of the difference. Since black women's educational attainments are approximately equal to those of black men, education obviously did not explain why they earn less money. Unfortunately, Oaxaca[27] followed the usual procedure of accounting for the lower earnings of black women relative only to black men instead of to white men as well. The power of occupational characteristics should hold, however, in explaining why black women earn less than white men because they are such critical determinants, relative to education, in determining the incomes of black women as a group and are so influential in accounting for sex differentials among Blacks as well as whites.

Let us remember that these occupational characteristics are not as important as discrimination itself. Oaxaca[28] estimated that sex discrimination accounted for 57 percent of the earnings differences between black men and women even <u>after</u> adjusting for differences in occupational position, type of industry, and class of worker. Still, occupational barriers and channelling are major mechanisms by which black women end up earning less than either group of men. Moreover, movement out of

service occupations into clerical jobs is the major explanation offered by market analysts for the improved earnings of black women, relative to white women, between the mid-sixties and early seventies. We are not suggesting that attaining parity with white women in occupational position or earnings should define a goal for black women since that would still represent considerable market inequity, relative to white men. But we do argue that where (in what occupation, in what industry) black women end up in the critical issue in accounting for their incomes in the market, or markets, we now know. Occupational channeling is far more important than education per se. Let us be clear in what we mean. Educational attainments do help black women, and everyone else, get into better occupational positions. In that sense education has an indirect effect on income. But education bears little significance unless it is translated into clerical, managerial, or professional jobs. Evidence to date shows that the translation is by no means automatic and that black women, like black men and white women, cannot capitalize on educational achievements as readily as white men.

Occupational and Educational Aspirations of Black Women in College

Previous writing about black women presents highly contradictory pictures of the education and career motivation of black women. Actually very few empirical studies have been done. But the widespread belief that black women have enjoyed an economic edge in the market has led some people to suggest that black women must be unusually well motivated for success in the market. The baseline of motivational comparisons shifts just as it has in the market analyses themselves. Sometimes black women are viewed as more effectively motivated than white women; sometimes they are viewed as more effectively motivated than black men. Highly educated black women particularly have been viewed as bringing unusual motivational assets to the world of work. Evidence to support this picture of black women has depended almost exclusively from data provided by a study carried out by the National Opinion Research Center of black and white men and women who were graduating from college in 1964.[30] The black students were enrolled in historically black colleges.

Previous studies that we have carried out with our colleague, Edgar Epps, of students attending historically black colleges suggest a different picture. Rather than being more effectively motivated than black men for career achievements and higher degrees, black women showed the effects of sex role constraints in their educational and occupational aspirations. Moreover, the pattern of sex differences that we found were very similar to those noted in studies of white men and women college students. We do not conclude that black women in college are poorly motivated but only that they have been influenced by societal expectations about women that need to be faced if highly educated black women are to realize their potential for educational and occupational achievement. We have worried that the erroneous picture of the highly educated black women's market

advantage and the insufficient evidence of black women's motivational advantages would lead some people to neglect the counseling and affirmative action needs of black women.

Gump and Rivers reviewed the evidence about black women's aspirations and other work-related motivation that was available up to the early seventies and concluded:

> The paradox, then, is that though black women are not as constricted in their conception of the feminine role, in that they see marriage and child rearing as compatible with employment, they nonetheless seem to be at least as constricted as white women in their conception of what occupational roles are appropriate for them...Thus, it appears that black women have not escaped many of the constraints imposed on which women, though they are free of some of them, and that concern for the occupational options of women can be directed no less toward them than toward any other women.[31]

We would like to emphasize their conclusion. A repeat study that we carried out in 1970 showed much the same pattern of sex differences that we found in 1964 among men and women students.[32] The issues that the earlier results raised for counseling black women in college unfortunately remain still. Let us summarize the results and then raise some of those counseling issues.

The results are based on questionnaires and interviews that were administered to students attending ten colleges in 1964-65 and again to students attending six of these original colleges in the spring of 1970. All ten colleges were located in deep South states; four were publicly, six privately supported. They represented different levels of academic quality, as rated by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges. This purposive selection of colleges resulted in a sample of students that represented very well the characteristics of students attending other historically black colleges[33] as well. The socio economic and other demographic characteristics of students from our sample match almost exactly the estimates provided by the American Council on Education for students attending predominantly black colleges.

In the initial cross-sectional study in 1964 questionnaires were administered to all the students in the colleges and coded and analyzed for a random sample of 400 students from each college (50 men and 50 women at each class level, approximately 2,000 of each sex). The second cross-sectional study was carried out the spring of 1970. Six of the original ten colleges -- three public, three private -- agreed to participate in the repeat study. Liason people at the colleges administered questionnaires to 50 men and 50 women, randomly chosen, at the freshmen and senior levels, making a total of appriximately 200 students at each college. The response rate at five of these six colleges was over 90%; at the sixth college it was 75%.

In addition to these two cross-sectional studies a supplementary follow up of the freshmen who entered in 1964 was carried out at the end of their freshman year. This provided a sample on which aspiration change could be assessed and analyzed as a function of college impact.

Educational Aspirations and Expectancies

Men and women attending these historically black colleges shared much the same ideal educational goals. Desire for post baccalaureate education was as great among the women as among the men, both as freshmen and seniors and in 1964 and 1970 (see Table 6). By contrast, though, the men and women differed significantly in their educational expectancies. Women seniors were less certain they would eventually go to graduate or professional school than the men, and considerably fewer women than men expected to go immediately after college. These sex differences in educational expectancy did not appear at the freshman level. They showed up at the senior level because the educational expectancies women held as freshmen decreased more than the men's expectancies did (see Table 6).

The degrees the seniors we surveyed planned to pursue also reflected definite sex differences. Many more women than men saw the Master's degree as terminal. By contrast, somewhat more men than women gave the Ph.D. as their goal and many more men than women aspired for professional degrees (see Table 7). This striking sex difference in aspirations for professional education was apparent even at the freshmen level. It was equally large in 1964 and in 1970.

Black college women thus certainly did not appear to have higher educational aspirations than black college men. Although the men and women shared equally high desires for post baccalaureate education, they had different degree goals in mind. Far more men than women aspired for the highest degrees. In the matter of expectations, the differences between the men and women we surveyed were even greater, with the women holding much lower expectations of actually achieving their goals.

Occupational Aspirations

The jobs the students in our sample thought were attractive and the choices they made for their own future work even more strikingly reflected conventional sex-role influences. In 1964 we asked a second random sample of 900 students attending the ten historically black colleges at which we had been conducting our cross-sectional surveys to judge 150 occupations according to prestige, abilities needed, likelihood of racial discrimination, and personal desirability. Each student judged only 25 occupations (chosen at random by us). The prestige measure was based on the question: "For each occupation, pick out the one statement that best gives your own personal opinion of the general standing such an occupation has," with a five-point scale ranging from "excellent standing" to "poor standing." The measure of abilities needed on: "It is generally felt that various occupations require a certain amount of intelligence or

ability - what percentage of the students in your class at college do you feel have the general ability to attain each of the following occupations?", with a seven-point rating scale varying from "only the top one percent have the ability" to "almost everyone has the ability." The measure of perceived discrimination on: "What chance do you think an equally qualified white and black person would have for each occupation, presuming they were applying for the same job?" The discrimination score was obtained by subtracting the rating of the black person's chances from the white person's chances for each occupation. The desirability measure on: "How satisfied would you be with this kind of work as an adult, say ten years after college?", with a five-point rating scale varying from "extremely desirable, I'd be very satisfied with it" to "very undesirable, I'd be very dissatisfied with it."

The men and women surveyed held identical opinions on which occupations carried the greatest prestige, demanded the most ability, and were most difficult for Blacks to enter because of racial discrimination. They differed greatly, though, on which jobs would be the most personally desirable. The twenty-five ranking highest in desirability for men and women are listed in Table 8. Only four occupations appear in both lists doctor (second for men but eighteenth for women); school administrator (ninth for men, first for women); IBM computer programmer (ninth for both men and women); and IBM machine operator (twentieth for men but second for women). What is even more startling than the small number of common choices is the sexual character of the lists. Based on the preponderance of one or the other sex in an occupation, the job lists almost stereotypically connote masculinity and feminity. Moreover, both the men and women surveyed agreed that the jobs men judged most desirable accorded greater prestige and demanded greater ability than the jobs women found most desirable. The average prestige rating of the 25 occupations most desirable to men was 3.2 (on a five point scale); the comparable rating for women was 2.6. The average ability rating of the top 25 jobs for men was 4.5 (on a seven-point scale), compared to 3.2 for women. In short, the jobs women indicated were most desirable were viewed by women and men, as according less status and requiring less ability and talent than the jobs men found most attractive.

The same large sex differences appeared in the actual job choices of the men and women. Applying the job ratings derived from our special survey on occupational judgments, we found that women's job choices carried significantly lower prestige and ability demands and fell within more traditional areas of achievement for Blacks (see Table 9). This pattern of lower aspirations among women was as marked in 1970 as in 1964, and it was true in every college that participated in the study.

These differences are even more strikingly apparent when the analysis is carried one step further to examine the additional attributes of jobs that were judged as highly desirable to men and women. As Table 10

shows, an occupation rated by men as very desirable was also likely to be a job viewed as demanding exceptional ability, likely to be difficult for Blacks because of discrimination, and falling in non-traditional fields where Blacks generally have been excluded. An occupation personally desirable to women was likely to be a job viewed as not very demanding of ability, not racially discriminatory, and more traditional than nontraditional for Blacks. If the job choices deemed desirable by one's sexual peers can be considered role appropriate, then these data show that choosing a nontraditional occupation or one demanding a great deal of ability inherently implies that a woman is making an inappropriate choice for a women. In contrast, aspiring for a difficult or nontraditional occupation converges with men's views about desirable roles for men.

Sex differences were also apparent in the openness with which the students considered future jobs. As part of our cross-sectional survey, we asked students to check from a long list of jobs all the occupations they had ever seriously considered. Women indicated significantly fewer jobs than men, and the occupations women listed reflected a narrower range of prestige, ability, and nontraditionality than those of the men. Consistently the women were also more certain about which occupation they wanted to enter and they had decided earlier. The impact of the college on occupational goals was also greater for men than for women students. The 1964 study included a follow-up of freshmen at the end of their first year in college. The aspirations of the men students changed greatly during the freshman year, and they changed very differently in the ten schools. This evidence of institutional effect applied to all dimensions of job choice and aspiration for graduate and professional school among the male freshmen; it occurred only in degree of job difficulty represented by the occupational choice and in graduate school aspirations for women. The young women's job and educational horizons were more foreclosed, less open to the influence and potential challenge offered by the college experience.[35]

Elements of Achievement Motivation

Occupational and educational aspirations may be viewed as reflections of more general motives and goals. A number of these were measured in our 1964 and 1970 studies. Men and women students differed very little on these motivational indicators. They did not differ in the motives that have been prominent in the psychological literature on achievement motivation: fear of failure as measured by the Mandler-Sarason[36] Test Anxiety Questionnaire; need for achievement as measured by content analysis of three unstructured questions about life goals, following usual procedures for coding the Thematic Apperception Test for need for achievement;[37] desire for security and need for recognition as measured by content analysis of these same unstructured questions following procedures we devised. The goals that men and women stated for college and for their lives after college were also very similar in both 1964 and 1970. And their level of self-confidence about academic abilities and competence for their chosen jobs did not differ at either point in time.

This lack of difference in motives, values, and self-confidence contrasts markedly with the sizeable differences we have just seen in the men and women's occupational goals and both their educational and occupational expectations. Women seemed to subscribe to conventional views about appropriate role for women and even when they desired challenging goals, they were less certain they would actually be able to carry them out. That the major sex differences occurred in aspirations and expectancies rather than in motives and values suggests that sex-role effects on motivation primarily reflected current realities and influences rather than early childhood socialization of different needs and values. Aspirations and expectancies very often represent influences in the immediate situation and can be changed as opportunities and situational pressures change. Motives and values, by contrast, presumably derive from more long-standing socialization.

Patterns of Sex Differences Among Black and White Students

This whole pattern of sex differences in aspirations closely resembles data from national studies of college students and from studies specifically of white students. The size of the sex differences we have reported for graduate school aspirations match the differences for men and women in the nation at large. At study of 246 accredited four-year colleges found that three times as many men as women in their senior year planned to pursue doctorate or professional degrees.[38] Figures collected from our sample at the same time that these national statistics were gathered also showed three times as many men as women expressing aspirations for higher degrees. In contrast, women in the college population at large and in the black colleges we studied were one and a half to two times as likely as men to look to master's degrees as terminal educational goals. A survey of black and white seniors attending southern colleges and universities also revealed approximately the same sex differentials among white and black seniors in steps taken to enter graduate school. The proportion of senior men and women who said they had considered attending graduate school immediately after graduation and who actually intended to do so was virtually identical within the black and white samples. At least twice as many men as women in both groups had applied for admission and had already decided on a specific graduate school.[39] Actual graduate degrees awarded also indicate similar, although not identical, sex disparities among black and white young people. Only 10 to 11% of the doctorates earned in the United States between 1955 and 1965 were earned by women.[40] A survey of doctoral recipients in 1968 showed a slightly higher proportion of women; 13% of the degrees awarded that year went to women.[41] A study carried out by the Ford Foundation[42] of 1,096 Blacks who had earned doctorates by 1969 showed that 20 percent were women.

The sex differences we have reported in occupational aspirations also closely resemble the pattern for college students as a whole. White college women tend to show interest in the same fields as black college women--traditionally feminine fields--and to differ in their aspirations from those of white men in about the same proportions as black women to black men. The NORC study of graduating seniors, for example, asked men

and women, both Black and white, to check whether they would find the work of eight different occupations very interesting. Men and women of both racial groups shared equal interest in four of the eight -- college professor, research scientist, musician, physician. But where sex disparities appeared, they were similar for black and white students. Considerably fewer women than men judged engineer and business executive as very interesting. (There was a 30 percent difference between men and women, Black and white, for engineering; a 21% difference between black men and women and a 28% difference between white men and women for business executive.) Somewhat fewer women than men judged lawyer as very interesting (a 10% difference between black men and women; a 15% difference between white men and women). Although about the same percentage of black and white women judged high school teacher as very interesting, the sex disparity here differed from our pattern because more black men (53%) than white men (36%) saw high school teaching as a very interesting career.[43]

Sex differences reported in the NORC study in actual job choices also followed the patterns found in our study. Among both Blacks and whites, more men than women aspired to the five occupations defined as masculine by the preponderance of men in them -- businessman, engineer, lawyer, doctor, and physical scientist. When less than 1% of either the black or white women graduates in that study planned to go into law and engineering, 1% into medicine, 3 to 4% into the physical sciences, and 5 to 6% into business,[44] we can see that it is rare for women, be they Black or white, to aspire for masculine fields. This is further shown by applying the criteria used to define occupational role innovation in a study of white college women[45] to the women attending the black colleges we studied. Women were classified as "role innovators" if they aspired to occupations in which less than 30% were women -- in other words, to occupations where women were under-represented relative to their proportion in the experienced, college-educated, civilian labor force. Women were classified as "moderates" if they aspired to occupations with 30 to 50% women in them, and as "traditionals" if they planned to enter occupations with more than 50 percent women. Using those definitions 19% of the white female seniors at a four-year university were role innovators, another 19% were moderates and 60% were traditionals.[46] Applying the same criteria to the choices listed by senior women in our sample, black women were every bit as conventional: 17% were role innovators, another 14% were moderates, and 68% were traditionals.

Studies of white students show also that women make their occupational decisions earlier than men, enter college with lower aspirations, and, when they shift during college, they change to a lower rather than a higher level of aspiration.[47] Astin and Panos have concluded that the sex of the student, more than any other personal characteristic, entered into the prediction of the careers and the academic majors among the seniors they studied in their national sample of universities and colleges.[48] The fact that we found greater evidence of college impact on the occupational goals of the men than of the women students is likewise

consistent with national studies of college impact. In fact, one of the most reliable facts about change among college students is the accentuation of sex differences in orientations about career and marriage, in preferences of academic majors and occupational fields, and in number of years of desired education. Sex differences increase during college through two documented patterns: men become increasingly masculine while women maintain freshman aspirations, or, men do not change in "feminine" direction while women become increasingly traditionally "feminine."[49]

These similarities repeatedly show that women, Black and white, are influenced by conventional views of appropriate educational and occupational roles for women. Highly educated black women are not free of this aspect of sex-role expectations. Gump and Rivers[50] also report that black college women are no less, indeed more, traditional in sex-role attitudes. Although both groups of women believed equally in the importance of maximizing their own potential, black women more often than white endorsed the position that a women's identity derived primarily from marriage, that a mother with children should remain at home, and that a woman should be submissive in relation to men. These attitudes may well reflect black women's reponses to many recent writings that define their appropriate role vis a vis black men as the supportive help mate. They certainly do not indicate a group freed of concern about appropriate feminine behavior and attitudes.

We do not want to overemphasize similarities in sex-role concerns to the exclusion of important differences in the black and white college populations. Numerous people have pointed to striking differences, for example, in the approaches black and white college women take about work and family responsibilities. Data from the NORC[51] study of graduating seniors is almost always the base on which these differences depend. They arose not over whether to combine working with a family but how to do it. More white women seniors (31%) than Black (13%) wanted to work only after their children were grown. More black women seniors (47%) than white 24%) wanted to continue to work, combining a family with a career or steady job. These differences may be less striking now, however, because of an increase in the number of white women who expect to continue working after children arrive. More recent data collected in 1971 from white senior women at a large public university[52] and our 1970 data from women attending historically black colleges show that the plans of black and white women in the senior year were reasonable similar. Virtually all of both groups expected to work after getting married but before having children. More significantly, close to the same proportion of both groups (50% Black and 42% white) stated that they expected to work after having children as well.

Gump and Rivers[53] also stress that black and white college women's expectations for work depend on different motivations. They argue that black women base their work commitments on a sense of responsibility derived from their feelings that others expect them to work, while white women more often stress desire for personal fulfillment.[54] Adequate family incomes have depended on two wage earners more often among Black

than among white families. Realistically, black college women have responded to societal forces that have presented black men from achieving economic security by conceiving of their own work at least partially as a family responsibility. Black women are the only group of wage earners who come into the labor force in greater numbers in times of high unemployment,[55] probably in response to the effects of unemployment on their mates and families. Although these kinds of pressures undoubtedly affect college educated black men and women less severely than workers who are less well educated, they do form part of the sense of family responsibility to which young black children are socialized. Black students who make it to college are no less aware of this sense of responsibility. Although firm evidence is not available from large and representative samples, this commitment to work out of a sense of responsibility may indeed be a genuine difference in the work motivations of black and white women, even at the college level.

Taken together, the results we have reported from our studies of a large number of black college students in both 1964 and 1970, the results from the NORC study of black and white seniors, and the studies conducted by the American Council on Education, show more similarities than dissimilarities in sex-related patterns of aspirations of black and white college students. By stressing the similarities we do not conclude that black and white women (or black and white men) experience life the same way or hold the same attitudes about themselves and their worlds. We do conclude that sex role demands and patterns of sex discrimination in the society at large critically influence the educational and occupational choices of women, be they Black or white. We suspect this is particularly true for women who have been socialized through our educational institutions all the way to the college level.

If we could help college black women aspire for less traditional work roles, would that alter their position in the market? Do we know for a fact that black women less often enter doctoral and professional training and less often attain high prestige, professions <u>because</u> of their more conventional aspirations? Unfortunately, very few studies have measured the impact of aspirations, while still in an educational institution, on eventual educational or occupational attainment. The few that have been done pertain to white students. For example, the work of Sewell[56] and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin involves following 9,000 high school students, almost exclusively white, after high school graduation to study the impact of parental influences, the students' own aspirations, and peer and teacher influences during the high school years on how much education men and women students eventually achieved. Sex differences in educational aspirations while still in high school helped a little in explaining women's lower educational attainments. However, a large amount of the variance remained unexplained by all of the variables included in the model. Sewell suggests that women's experiences immediately after high school may go further in explaining why they attained less education than men. Similarly, Spaeth[57] suggests that while college white women's career aspirations were significantly related to the prestige of the occupations

they hold four years later, the relationship was not nearly as large as it was for men. This implies that if opportunities were not more constricted for women graduates, aspirations might indeed influence occupational attainment more. Aspirations might be more powerful in a less discriminatory market, just as they seem now to be for white men.

The Market and Work Motivation

Is this emphasis on aspirations and work motivation misplaced? Is there evidence that these psychological characteristics matter anyway, at least in the attainments and experiences of most black and white women and black men? Perhaps they might be more important *if* the market were less discriminatory but are they important in handling the present market?

How have motivational characteristics been treated in typical labor market analyses? When invoked at all, they have been viewed as motivational deficiencies that help explain why women and black men earn less than white men. They are treated as proxies for productivity measures, just as part-time employment, lower education, less continuous employment, marital status, child-bearing and rearing responsibilities etc. have been viewed as evidence of lower productivity that would justify why certain classes of workers earn less than white men. These supply analyses of wage differentials have been the economic "victim deficit" analog to personality deficit approaches to race and sex in psychological research.

We want to emphasize that supply characteristics, whether in the form of motivation or more traditional measures of productivity proxies, have been overstudied while the effects of employer behavior and the demand side of the market have received too little attention. Supply studies have been stressed because there has been so much controversy (at least by market analysts) about whether and how much discrimination exists. Since the residual in sex or race differences in wages that remained *after* adjusting for obvious productivity proxies was attributed to discrimination, the search for relevant supply differences that might serve as indicators of productivity differences can be endless. The cynic is never convinced that *all* productivity differences have been controlled and thus that the remaining differences in wages (or occupational position) necessarily represents discrimination in any case.

Should research and educational program strategies focus on work motivation and aspirations at all? Shouldn't we turn our attention entirely to the demand side of the market? More research and interventions *should* focus on firm characteristics (employers' beliefs and policies, organizational and structural characteristics, market power) and contextual characteristics of local labor markets. On the other hand, some supply questions do need further attention for at least two reasons.

First, motivation has been overstressed, at least by psychologists and educators, without sufficient evidence that black men and women or

white women do differ from white men in aspects of motivation presumably important to educational and occupational attainment. Even more important, distinctions have not always been made between aspirations as real intentions, thus the resultant states of motivation, and the characteristics that presumably influence aspirations. Lower aspirations may result from motives and values (less need for achievement, higher fear of success, higher fear of failure, less value placed on work achievement) or from lower expectancies of being successful. Women may aspire for less because they do not value work success or do not have very high needs for achievement, or they may hold appropriate values and motives and not believe that their chances for success in more prestigious occupations are very good. Perhaps both motives and expectancies are important. We certainly need more evidence about the ways in which other classes of workers may differ from white men in educational and work motivation. Do they hold lower aspirations, lower motives and values, lower expectancies of success?

Second, some supply questions still need further clarification in light of recent monopsonistic models of the labor market. We do not know if black and white women and black men may supply themselves differently even when equally trained and productive. We need to know whether their perceptions of alternatives and beliefs about opportunities, in short their perceptions of the market and expectancies of success in the market, may reinforce sex segregation in the labor pool and/or make for different supply elasticities for black and white women and black men, compared to white men, that can then be exaggerated by biased employers. These groups may not acquire as much education as white men or as often apply for education and training on the job because they believe their chances to be slimmer. They may be more willing to take lower status of lower paying jobs if: they believe their opportunities for better jobs are limited; their previous experiences have reduced their expectancies for better alternatives; they are geographically less mobile (something more probably for married women than for single women or minority male workers); they have lower access to job information by knowing fewer people already occupying better jobs; they are aware that worker monopolies control access to jobs they might prefer.

It matters therefore whether white men differ from other classes of workers primarily in their motives and values or in their expectancies of success. Expectancies have been shown in experimental research to be very responsive to changes in the immediate situation and thus should also be easier to alter than the presumably deeper aspects of personal motivation through counseling and educational programs. It also matters whether experiences in the market primarily affect expectancies rather than deeper, less situational aspects of motivation because the behavior of discouraged workers should then change more readily in improved market conditions.

What is known about the role of expectancies and other aspects of motivations in black women? We have already seen that the educational

and work aspirations and expectancies, but not the achievement motives and values, of black women in college were lower than black men attending the same colleges. They were also lower than the aspirations and expectancies reported in national studies for white men in college. What is known about black women who are already in the market and who have attained less than college education? The data from the 1972 national election study allow motivational comparisons within a broader cross section of adults. We draw much the same conclusions from the race and sex comparisons in the national data that we did from the earlier studies of just college students. It is the expectancy aspect of motivation that seems most critical. (All of the comparisons are made after adjusting for educational attainments so that differences in motivation do not reflect simply white men's educational edge.)

We asked directly about job expectancies. The question was phrased slightly differently for employed and unemployed workers. Employed workers were asked: "If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects?" Unemployed workers were asked about the kind of job they were looking for: "What do you think your chances are of getting that kind of job?" Both sets of respondents chose among "very good", "good", "not so good" or "not good at all". Black women's (as well as black men's and white women's) expectancies were significantly lower than those expressed by white men (see Table 11). We also asked the employed and unemployed workers about their self-confidence about their abilities. "Compared to most other people doing your kind of work (or doing the kind of work you are looking for), how much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability than most other people?" Black women (as well as white women) were significantly less self-confident about their abilities. (Black men's ability confidence approximated that of white men.) (See Table 11). In both these ways--future job expectancies and current confidence in job-related ability -- black women held lower expectancies.

A series of questions about jobs were also asked just of housewives. For example, they were asked: "Suppose you wanted to go to work now, do you think you would be able to find a job easily?" Respondents answered either "yes" or "no". In order to delete possible educational influences, we then compared the responses of black and white housewives who had attained less than college education. (The number of black housewives with college education in our sample was too small to compare separately the expectancies to college educated white and black housewives.) Significantly fewer black (23%) than white (41%) housewives felt they could find a job easily.

The pattern of response to different factors of the Internal-External Control Scale[58] also show that black women (and black men) differed from white men in their sense of personal control but not in their values or ideology about control. The four race and sex groups held very similar views about what should produce success in American society. This is seen in their scores to two factors that were

generated by analyzing the individual items comprising the Internal-External Control Scale. One, General Control Ideology, asks respondents to explain why people succeed or fail in life. The other, Success Mobility Ideology, asks specifically for explanations for success in the job market. All four groups attributed success more to internal Protestant Ethivirtues than to external forces. By contrast, the factor that refers most clearly to respondents' personal expectancies, the Sense of Personal Control, showed definite race and sex differences. The questions comprising this factor ask respondents to tell whether they can control what happens in their own lives or whether external forces control their personal outcomes. White men expressed a higher sense of personal control than all other groups. (See Table 12). White women, while less efficacious than white men, felt more personal control than either black women or black men. Thus, while black women (and men) ascribe to much the same work ethic values, their expectancies about being able to control their own lives were less optimistic.

The pattern of responses to questions traditionally used at the Survey Research Center to measure personal efficacy also shows that it was only on three questions that asked whether respondents felt they could make things work out that black women (and black men) felt less efficacious. (See Table 13). There were no race of sex differences on the one question that was cast normatively as a value: "Do you think it is better to plan your life a good way ahead or would you think life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?" Black women and men valued planning ahead as much as white men. They also valued the work-ethic virtues referred to in the Internal-External Control Scale as much. Their expectancies of being able to realize those values in their own lives were just lower.

The significance of this distinction between values and personal expectancies is also confirmed from data provided by a much larger national sample of black and white men and women heads of households collected by Morgan and his associates at the Survey Research Center.[59] Measures of achievement values and personal expectancies were not drawn from the Internal-External Control Scale but they illustrate the significance of expectancies. Seven questions factored together to comprise an index of ambition; five factored together to comprise an index of personal efficacy. Item analysis of the ambition questions showed no race differences on four questions. On two items--preference for a job with chances of making more money even if the respondent disliked the job, and, spending time figuring out how to get more money--black heads of households (both men and women) showed greater ambition than white heads of households. Only on one item--attitude toward quitting a job that was not challenging enough--did white heads (both men and women) show greater ambition. On the summary index Blacks showed greater ambition. (See Table 14). By contrast, race differences appeared on all five questions comprising the personal efficacy index. White men particularly expressed higher efficacy and black women felt significantly

less efficacious than all other groups. Thus, we see that black women, despite high or higher ambition, particularly as reflected by the importance of financial incentives, did not feel as efficacious as any other group of household heads about being able to realize their ambitions in their own lives.

Is there evidence that their reduced expectancies influenced the market behavior of black women? We are just beginning our analyses of the role of expectancies but the results to date seem to show that expectancies do mediate the market activity of black women. We asked a series of questions about market behavior in the 1972 election study. Unemployed workers were asked if they were currently looking for work. Fewer unemployed women (approximately 52 percent of both black and white women) than unemployed men (approximately 75 percent of both black and white men) were looking for work. Why should women be less active? While the casual argument that reduced expectancies result in a less active job search cannot be tied down from these cross sectional data, some support for the influence of expectancies is provided from our analyses. When job search comparisons were made of the men and women who felt their expectancies of finding work were very good or good, as many women (both Black and white) as men (both Black and white) were looking for work. Eighty percent of the black women, 79 percent of the white women, 85 percent of the black men, and 75 percent of the white men who were unemployed but who held high expectancies of finding work were currently looking.

The impact of expectancies is also seen among employed workers who have thought about changing jobs. More currently employed black women (33%) than other groups (about 21% of each) said they had been thinking about getting a new job in the next year or so. However, only a third of the black women who had been considering a job change said they had been doing something about looking for other work. This contrasts markedly with white men. (Black women were no more inactive than white women or black men.) Fewer white men had been thinking about a job change but 60 percent of them had been doing something about it. Again, job expectancies about market success helps clarify why black women seemed more discouraged and less active in the job search, at least more so than white men. When job expectancies were equated, black women were as active as white men. The expectancy control did little to alter the behavior of white men but it significantly altered the behavior of black women. Sixty percent of the black women and white men who felt their chances of finding a job were very good or good and who had been thinking of a job shift were actually looking.

Finally, analyses of the work intentions and expectancies of black and white housewives also show that expectancies are important for black women. These analyses were carried out only for housewives with less than college education. Somewhat more black (33%) than white (18%) housewives said they would like to take a job if they could get someone to take care of things at home. However, despite more <u>interest</u>, no more

of the black than the white women said they actually intended to take a job in the future. About 30 percent of each group said they were likely to work sometime. Why shouldn't more black than white housewives expect to work since more of them said they would like to take a job? Since we also learned that fewer black than white housewives felt they could get a job easily if they wanted to work, it seemed plausible that their reduced expectancies might explain why their work intentions seemed lower than their desires for work. Therefore, we compared the work intentions just of the housewives who felt they could get a job easily. The results supported the significance of expectancies. Among housewives who felt they could find work easily, more Black than white housewives did intend to work in the future. Forty-four percent of the Black but 30 percent of the white women who were optimistic about finding jobs said they intended to work in the future.

Taken together, these results indicate that only certain motivational supply characteristics distinguish white men from black women (and other groups of workers as well). There is no evidence from the national studies that black women (or black men and white women) differ from white men in their achievement values. Their ambition, value placed on work achievement, and stress on work-ethic values equal those of white men. Their expectancies of success in the market and their sense of being able to control outcomes in their personal lives were lower, however. Moreover, their expectancies apparently play a role in how black women handle unemployment, desires for job changes, or the likelihood of shifting from housewife to working in the future. When their expectancies of finding a job are equated, unemployed black women were as likely as unemployed white men to be looking for work; black women who had been thinking about job changes were as likely as white men to be doing something about making a change; more black than white housewives intended to work, thus more nearly approximating the greater interest of black women in finding employment outside the home. When their job expectancies were not equated, unemployed black women were less active in the job search; black women who had been thinking about job changes were doing less about it; and equal proportion of black and white housewives intended to work, although more black housewives expressed interest in working.

These expectancies as supply characteristics do not represent deep motivational problems since expectancies can, and do, change when objective success is greater. We do need to help black women alter their expectancies, however, since they seem to influence their market behavior. Other studies also note that expectancies influence desire for promotion of women. A national study[60] of working conditions of employed workers shows that women expressed less desire for promotion unless expectations of receiving a promotion were controlled. Men and women who felt their chances of getting promoted were equally good also equally wanted to be promoted. We can draw erroneous conclusions about the aspirations, preferences, and market activity of women if we do not disentangle the influence of their expectancies and perceptions of alternatives. Women

may behave as less effectively motivated or as preferring less prestigious or demanding jobs while in fact they would behave differently and express different aspirations *if* they felt their chances for success were greater.

Development: The Raison d'etre for Educational and Career Counseling of Black Women

The central purpose of guidance and counseling[61] is to individualize education to the end that all persons might exercise choice in the development of their potential. Many guidance practitioners have assumed that in a democratic society choice is a birth right; counselors reveal choices and clients make selections. Furthermore, many have assumed that human development responds primarily to motivation. Development, therefore, is constrained only by one's willingness to strive. That constraints created by social, political, economic and educational systems impact the exercises of free choice and development has more often than not been overlooked.

Traditional views like these were challenged in the 1960's as the new wave of counseling the disadvantaged moved to the forefront. Counselors believed that their efforts were paying off as labor statistics began to show the rapid strides being made by black people. And black women came to believe that they had a distinct advantage in the labor market.

More careful analysis of labor force information such as we have presented in this paper, carries implications that until now have not been acted upon. Unmistakedly, they point to the need to re-educate us all concerning the way we regard the potential and choices of black women. Moreover, they force us to lay plans for action.

Before proposing appropriate counseling activities, we need to create a background that includes considerations about career development and the development of black women.

Any consideration of the condition of the black woman must acknowledge the heterogeniety of the group; there is no one black woman. There is perhaps as much variation within the group as there is between the group and white women. The attitudes, values, motivations, aspirations and world views of black women are diverse. Yet their Afro-American heritage makes them heir to a set of common experiences that make generalizations not only possible, but useful. By no means, nowever, should such generalizations be used to minimize or obliterate their uniqueness as individuals.

We might wish that knowledge of expectancies and labor force participation were sufficient for a consideration of the role of counseling. It would generate a neat package of information delivery

strategies. But career development is complex. Although it is influenced by labor force information, it is responsive also to the influence of peers, teachers, parents, and a host of other experiences. Individuals make a series of career-related decisions. Career development is a process, not an act. It is continuous, beginning in early childhood and extending through retirement.

Many individuals find it extremely difficult to make career decisions. Some will be drawn by interesting and appealing persons in occupations that are new to them. Some will see things that need to be done in the world which sound exciting to them, but which are far from the traditional occupations. They know neither themselves nor the world of work -- and in the midst of this turmoil they will make job choices.

Data about expectations and labor force participation must be understood, moreover, against a backdrop that considers the sociopyschological setting in which black women grow up. Counselors must realize that black women do not experience life the same way as whites.[62] Information about the lives of black women may strike at the very heart of white, middleclass values that characterize most counselors. Black counselors are not immune for they, through a process labeled anticipatory socialization, internalize model American values.

We will suggest some sociopsychological considerations in broad outline at this point, and elaborate later on as seems appropriate to various counseling activities. Black women have grown up in America with its prescribed roles for men and women. Those roles are so familiar that they need not be recited here. What is important is that these traditional roles are now undergoing cataclysmic changes. The current movement for the liberation of women is impacting all social structures -- family, school, church, work force -- and exerting far-reaching effects upon the way women view themselves and society. According to Westerfelt,[63] it is generating not only new patterns of aspiration but new sources of guilt and shame as well.

Black women experience as they grow up an additional source of socialization, the black community. Many have been reared in families where they were taught that black women will seek gainful employment, and that their earnings will be essential to the advancement of their families.[64] Women so reared seem not to care about the nature of their work; it is important that the work be stable. Also, they are taught to value education both for themselves and for their children, for it constitutes their new frontier.

Sociologists have told them that they run matriarchal households and that their men are weaklings, thus characterizing the women as villians when, in fact, society made it difficult for their men to obtain decent jobs. They are confused about the women's liberation movement.[65,66] Some believe that the movement is trick-bag; what is more important is

solidarity of black men and women for the elimination of racism. Others believe that they do have problems that can be addressed by the movement. But because their problems are different, they require a movement all their own.

Black women have been told that advances in civil rights and affirmative action have not enabled them to move ahead of black men in earnings and occupational placement, a move that is threatening to black men. From analyses we are presenting at this Conference, however, they are now to learn that they stand on the lowest rung of the employment ladder, and that their attitudes about ways to move up may be counter productive.

Not all black women are resigned to these notions about gainful employment. A recent study of 18 New York City, black teenage girls, conducted by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc. (MARC) of New York City drew some conclusions that, while not highly generalizable from a sampling point of view, do provide a glimpse of a different black woman.[67] These young women, from the New York City poverty neighborhoods of Central Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, "'...felt that holding jobs as adults was essential to their self-esteem. But for the most part, their poverty status apparently did not increase their readiness to move into adult roles or to assume responsibility for self-support.'"[68] Their families expected them to remain at home and to shoulder major household responsibilities -- chores that were far more important than working for low wages. They did not make long-range plans, and they moved in and out of the labor force whenever it was necessary. They were aware of racial prejudice in hiring and promotion, and anticipated exploitative sexual advances from male supervisors if they were hired. To be sure, these expectations are not the sort that generate enthusiasm about gainful employment.

Such characterizations of black women are bound to paint a picture of confusion when one considers roles, aspirations, motivation and expectations. If they do suggest confusion, they are not meant to suggest racial or sexual deficits. These role related attitudes and values have constituted the coping mechanism by which black women have contributed to their own selfhood and to the survival of their people in America. The doors to employment offices have not opened as widely as black women had supposed, and even if they had, they might have been so constrained by their own attitudes and values as well as those of their families, and their perceptions of the world of work, that their participation in the labor force would have been little different from what it is today.

These attitudes and values, therefore, should not be disparaged now in the face of evidence that black women still lack equality in the labor force. Now should they be idolized because they may have served the race so well. Rather, in the light of new circumstances, they should be re-evaluated for their appropriateness in enhancing the fullest development of black women, and in preparing these women for the new roles they are likely to fill in the future.

What these roles will be is a matter for speculation. They will, however, be conditioned by the human potential movement. Issues concerning new roles are a special case of more general issues. Goals for black women reflect goals for all: choice, effectiveness, individuality and fulfillment. The human potential movement is concerned with social forces that facilitate or block individual choice for all. Ours, then, is a special case of the on-going discussion about the facilitation of human development. We must be concerned about the experiences that shape the ability of black women to respond to opportunities. The question is, what kind of guidance activity will facilitate their development?

A Framework for Action

The potential area in which a guidance counselor functions is so broad and the procedures so diverse that it is useful to employ an organizing framework. The Student Development Model for Tomorrow's Higher Education (T.H.E.), currently being developed by the American College Personnel Association,[69] provides a useful way for us to construct the responses that counselors could make to the needs of black women.[70]

The T.H.E. Model calls upon the counselor to be skilled in the competencies of goal-setting, individual assessment and three specific strategies for student development: instruction, consultation and milieu management. Goal-setting involves counselors in helping individuals to determine specific behaviors toward which they wish to strive. Counselors help them to understand developmental tasks and to establish short, intermediate and long-range goals for themselves.

Assessment enables counselors and their clients to determine baseline developmental information through such devices as self-report, observation and tests. The hope is that through this process one can formulate specific personal objectives and identify appropriate behavioral change strategies.

The primary function served by instruction within the human development process is to help individuals to acquire knowledge and skills that are essential to their development.

Consultation refers to the utilization of knowledge for the purpose of achieving a desired objective. The counselor can consult with the person, her family, employer, and other groups and individuals that impact her life.

Milieu management is an attempt to shape the environment in which the individual functions, particularly the school and the work place, in ways that can facilitate change and maximize development.

Goal Setting

Application of this model can clarify the ways counseling can serve the career needs of black women. Illustrative of goal-setting is helping the black women to identify specific behaviors that are desired or should be changed: determining, for example, whether or not she wishes to develop assertive behaviors, whether or not she wishes to major in civil engineering or some other non-traditional field, and what is required to do either. Counselors can help women to collect relevant data as input to the goal setting process-data such as the labor market information we have presented here. They can be helped to see their progress points, plateaus, achievements and successes, and to confront destructive, unhealthy or counter-productive behavior. The latter include seeking to raise earnings through education alone rather than job changes, for example. Is the view among black women that education is the way to improve one's life situation appropriate or does it represent an area for reassessment? Is increased education as important as job changes, job training, or attempts to get into apprenticeship programs in producing a better economic situation for black women?

Goal-setting activities must recognize sociopsychological characteristics which may influence the attainment of goals and objectives. Facing the market problems of black women sometimes arouses charged feelings since discussion of sex discrimination as one source of market constraint for black women is viewed by some as politically divisive at a time when black men and women need to stand together to attack the race discrimination that they both experience. On the other hand, the popular but incorrect view that black women have escaped sex discrimination and indeed have fared better economically than black men encourages an invideous characterization of both black men and black women. The inequities black men face come from race discrimination, not from peculiar market advantage enjoyed by black women. Programs directed at helping black women to set educational and career goals must help them explore whether or not their achievements necessitate a cost to black men and whether or not there is room for both to achieve. Honest confrontation of the double sources of market problems of black women need not be divisive within the black movement nor polarize the movements for equality for Blacks and women if the market position of white men is viewed as the normative baseline for all other groups. All other groups face serious market problems. Black women face more than others. Effective affirmative action will have costs that must be faced unless the economy expands or we find a better way to manage inflation, inadequate pay scales, and unemployment. Indeed, if we do not find solutions to manage these problems, there will not be effective affirmative action. But black women must be helped to understand that their educational and occupational advancement does not necessarily threaten the status and mobility of black men.

Counselors must understand distortions of black women's economic position if goal-setting and affirmative action programs are to be effective in addressing the market problems of black women. We fear

that many people with responsibility for such programs, and many black women themselves, have accepted the common but erroneous view of their market advantage.

Also, counselors should understand that evidence to date in no way shows that women's achievement motivation exceeds that of men. Some elements of their motivation - their aspirations of expectancies - showed evidence of inhibiting sex-role influences; other elements of their motivation - their motives, values, and self-confidence about their abilities - equalled but certainly did not exceed the motivation of the men. Nothing about this pattern suggests that black women were more appropriately motivated for success in the world of work.

How should goal-setting activities with black women use the fact that occupational channeling is the critical mechanism by which wage discrimination occurs? Education has helped Blacks achieve better jobs but it is not enough in the market at present. Why is it that it was only white men who consistently stressed job related changes over education as the things they have actually tried or thought about doing to improve their life situations? With greater options in the market, their experiences have probably indicated to them that job related shifts do improve earnings. Does this not raise issues about the types of changes others might try so as to minimize the impact of occupation and industry setting on their incomes? Shouldn't our counseling and educational programs try to articulate education and career placement more closely? Should we urge people who have faced major occupational barriers simply to "go back to school" or should the guidance be much more specific about particular jobs that are not grossly oversupplied? Shouldn't we emphasize training programs that do include placement into higher earning jobs as part of the training?

It should be recalled that black college-educated women appeared to be significantly limited by sexual constraints in their career aspirations. They consistently chose traditionally feminine occupations and only in very small numbers ventured into the occupations dominated by men. Even more significantly, perhaps, the women themselves saw these jobs as having lower status and demanding less ability than the "masculine" occupations, a telling comment on how they viewed what they had to offer in the job world. Opportunities to set goals can help them to raise and broaden their aspirations and, indeed, to raise their consciousness. To be sure, the objective in goal-setting is not to force the selection of "masculine" occupations or the like upon black women. The prime skill is to focus attention on the person and to interact in ways which will assure that she knows what her choices are and that she takes responsibility for her decisions.

The primary function served by goal-setting is the establishment of guidelines for planned development. Planning enables the person to assess her progress and enables her counselor to assess the effectiveness of her approaches.

Individual Assessment

Illustrative of individual assessment is the selection, administration and interpretation of standarized tests. Those that especially characterize educational and career counseling include measures of ability, aptitudes and interests. Results are often used to interpret probabilities of academic and career success. Problems incident to the misuse of test results derive from failure to recognize how race and sex influence differences in scores. Counseling for black women ought to be alert to drawbacks of traditional tests, and therefore, use the results in the service of describing and prescribing learning experiences and environments.[71]

Instruction

The role of instructor gives counselors opportunities to teach black women facts about such matters as minimum wages and fair labor standards, the role of labor unions in the labor force, heirarchical classifications of occupations and lines of progression that lead to promotion. Research suggests that black teenage girls are not nearly as knowledgeable as white girls regarding matters like these.[72] Shouldn't we know specifically how to help black women qualify and apply for training programs that are developing in industries that have made court settlements to redress previous job segregation by sex? Career education, a rapidly growing development in the schools, provide a vehicle for curricular treatment of these topics.

In the role of instructors, counselors need to provide reality based successes and skill training so that expectancies increase realistically. That we stress expectancies does not mean that women need only be exhorted to "believe they can do it." They need actual successes. They need to be armed with the appropriate job performance and job seeking skills so that they know they are qualified for specific jobs that biased employers might otherwise discourage them from applying for. They need a realistic understanding of the qualifications that more favored job applicants traditionally bring to specific jobs of interest to them so that they do not over or under estimate their own qualifications. They need to understand market alternatives and how to maximize their chances in the job search and in promotional opportunities. These skills will differ depending on the kinds that women with different levels of education may be counseled to consider. A woman who may consider a skilled trade previously practiced almost exclusively by white men may need different search and performance skills from a woman who may consider professions such as law, also previously practiced almost exclusively by white men. We are only stressing the importance of skills, knowledge of opportunities, and the need for success on preliminary or role playing situations if expectancies are to change realistically and effectively.

Moreover, counseling needs to provide role models for black women. An important finding of Ladner's research includes the fact that the successful role model of black adolescent girls is primarily the "resourceful woman" who can care for herself and her family. We know the value of

modeling as a teaching procedure. The Living Witness Program of the Urban League sends successful black people to black college campuses to talk with students about their work and life styles. Colleges, universities and other agencies that counsel black women and girls can maximize the efficacy of this procedure not only by transporting successful models to them, or vice versa, but also by seeing to it that black women are hired and retained in responsible, non-traditional positions all around them.

Counselors need to teach black women values clarification procedures, personal and group-decision making skills and life-work planning. It should be noted that these are all procedures that can be used in goal-setting. To mention them as an instructional competence is to suggest that the processes must be in fact taught. It should be remembered that in the matter of expectations, the differences between the men and women we surveyed were even greater, with the women holding much lower expectations of actually achieving their goals.

Our purpose ought to be not only to help black women to decide whether or not they want to achieve, but also to teach them how. Assertive skill training procedures enable counselors to address this problem. Jakubowski-Spector[74] explains the place of assertive training in the following ways:

> Many women find that their anxiety about producing interpersonal conflicts often prevents them from taking stances and expressing their true feelings, beliefs, and opinions. In other words, their anxiety prevents them from being assertive. Three converging trends are largely responsible for a growing awareness and concern about this problem. The first trend is the wide-spread acceptance of the cultural imperative for self-growth which, in addition to giving birth to encounter and sensitivity groups, has also caused an increasing number of women to view self-actualization as their birthright. As women assess their own potentials for growth, they discover that their difficulty in tolerating interpersonal conflict and in standing up for their rights is an obstacle to achieving greater self-fulfillment. The second converging trend is the growing inflexibility of the sex roles. As this develops women are experimenting with different role behaviors and are stepping outside of the home and being exposed to new situations - all of which have revealed many previously unsuspected inadequacies in their interpersonal skills. The third converging trend is the growth of the women's movement and the resulting stimulation of both awareness and self-examination. While in one way it increases women's self-acceptance, in another way it causes many women to raise their personal aspirations to be strong and effective as well as feminine. A major component of this strength and effectiveness is personal assertiveness. Women keenly feel internal pressures for growth at the same time that they feel unprepared to meet their raised aspirations. Thus,

there is an increased awareness and concern about personal limitations and a great desire to overcome these limitations. A major limitation for many women is not being able to be as assertive as they would like. This has led to a growing demand for assertive skill training.

Black women, according to Williams,[75] should have no worries that development of assertiveness will force ascendancy over black men. Rather, they can validate their own self-worth. Williams believes that the challenge to black women is to examine the popular label of the "aggressive black woman". She contends that aggressiveness can have self-defeating consequences, whereas assertiveness declares that "she is important and so are others."[76]

Black women who learn assertive skills are not forced to invoke them in every situation. The important value for them is that once they have learned the skills, failure to be assertive can derive from choice, not from fear.

Consulting

As a consultant the counselor can impact others who have the power to block or facilitate black women's development. The school is an important target for attention. It is well known that teachers and the curriculum do much to reinforce societal attitudes regarding sex and race.[77,78] Counselors must be willing to confront and challenge racist and sexist attitudes in books, guidance tools and teaching procedures, and should conduct workshops designed to change the attitudes and practices of school personnel. They need to facilitate the development of their own staffs by up-dating their awareness of the labor force information we are addressing here.

In earlier papers,[79,80] we urged counselors to explain to faculty how teaching behavior influences career development. In particular, teachers should examine their attitudes about the potential of the black women students they teach if they are to inspire them to do their best. It is the teacher's job to create situations in which these students do succeed and to let them know they are doing well. We fear that sexist attitudes about women's ability and appropriate "feminine" majors account in part for the depression we see in women's aspirations during the college years.

Teachers should also look at the types of rewards and incentives they offer to evoke good performance. Threat of failure, humiliation, embarrassment or disapproval can produce conformity to expected standards and even high achievement. But, these effects are likely to be quite short-lived, limited to that classroom situation, and therfore, unlikely to result in deep, personal convictions about either the importance or possibility of achievement in other situations such as those related to their careers. In contrast, rewards--offering the possibility of success, noting the ways in which the student does perform well, approving her efforts--are more apt to produce there desirable effects.

Developing self-confidence is not the only concern of teachers nor the only need of students. Faculty members ought to understand the nature of career development as described above. This knowledge assures them that some students will require only information and will ask what kinds of career are available in this field, how do we prepare for them, what are the graduate or professional schools, where are the jobs?

If, because of limitations of time and competence, teachers prefer not to enter into an extended counseling relationship, they should refer the student to a professional counselor.

This information-giving function suggests a one-to-one relationship with students. However, other techniques, like sponsoring academic clubs, taking students to professional meetings where they can see other black women in action and allowing them to collaborate in research should be encouraged.

We have more to do than expand and extend the way teachers view their attitudes and methods. Curricula of black colleges are recognizing the growing opportunities for their graduates by continually introducing new programs.[81] Yet black women students are reported to have grown increasingly "...dissatisfied with the service professions to which they have historically been admitted, and consequently have become dissatisfied with the predominantly (sic) black colleges which have developed curricula in social work, public school teaching, nursing, nutrition, and food preparation - fields which program you for home-making-type life-styles."[82]

Another significant target is the family. There is no question that the family is a critical breeding ground for development of attitudes about one's sex-role.[83,84] Through consultation with individual parents and through community groups, such as neighborhood groups and parent-teacher associations, counselors can help these significant persons in a girl's life to understand how the "messages" they are sending their daughters are influencing their motivation and aspiration.

Consulting is not a traditional counseling competence. Counselors are not accustomed to utilizing knowledge and expertise toward helping groups such as faculties, families and curriculum committees to achieve desired human development objectives. There are compelling reasons, however, why they must be able to function this way. For one, it multiplies their ability to impact the target group. Moreover, it maximizes the value of persons who are significant in the lives of black girls and women. Counselors do not always head the list. Counselors have been found to fall below older siblings or relatives, peers and parents in the significance girls attach to their influence.[85]

In order for counselors to carry out consulting functions, they must acquire not only knowledge about learning theory and humanistic psychology but collaborative skills as well. They must create an image and a track

record that convinces others that they know how to facilitate human development.

Milieu Management

In many ways, skills in consulting spill over into the third strategy, milieu management. This competency calls upon counselors to be social engineers.[86] Although the term is an onerous one, it is clear in its implications, namely, active intervention and environmental manipulation if counselors are to change the opportunity structures in which black women develop.

One dimension of milieu management involves addressing one's attention to college climate and its impact on students. Let us review the evidence about women students' aspirations during the college years. How can counselors use the fact that black women in some colleges do aspire for degrees higher than the master's level and for jobs judged as demanding? Should they not encourage the institution to provide more opportunities for faculty student interaction and see to it that both student and faculty groups learn about the educational value of their contacts? Research on college climates makes it clear that our surroundings exert a powerful impact upon the development of personality patterns.[87] If this is so, we suggest that faculty members and women students pursue ideas beyond the classroom through vists to faculty homes, sharing of meals, student-faculty discussions and other social gatherings. Faculty members and students who do think and talk together outside the classroom are likely also to discuss students' plans for the future. This too should be encouraged.

Colleges also need an overlap of classroom and residential groups. When the members of a class share the same living arrangements it is likely that they will discuss ideas advanced in the classroom and establish a dynamic flow from teacher through some students to other students. Activities like these capitalize on modeling as a way of learning. Therefore, when women faculty take the leadership, women students are the winners.

Another dimension of milieu management is social activities. If we could help college black women aspire for less traditional work roles would that alter their position in the market? The obvious answer is that changing motivation is necessary but not sufficient. Discrimination by employers seems to be more powerful than aspirations in explaining black women's market position. Employers, therefore, must change their discriminatory hiring and promotion policies. Also, they can create within their work settings atmospheres that enable black women to take advantage of affirmative action activities and industry-government court decisions. Petway[88] had shown how in a large scale product-oriented company the personal strengths and interpersonal influence of black secretaries can be developed to the end that they can use their strengths to influence their work environments in directions that are conducive to their own growth.

Milieu management can be turned to the service of graduate education. Do we know for a fact that black women less often enter doctoral and professional training and less often attain high prestige professions because of their more conventional aspirations? Historically discrimination has set boundaries on what black students could achieve by way of admission to the success in professional and graduate schools. Despite the fact that the most accessible data about black students in graduate and professional schools combines men and women, we agree with Blackwell's[89] recommendations regarding methods of attacking the access problems of Blacks:

1. Exert continued pressure on all persons in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of Justice responsible for enforcing the laws and court decisions relative to higher education. This enforcement should not be directed exclusively to the Adams States but in all jurisdictions. To facilitate this process, an intensive monitoring project should be implemented.

2. Accelerate the pace of recruitment into graduate and professional schools, and begin the process as early as possible.

3. Increase the level of financial assistance to black graduate and professional school students. This assistance should be in the form of Fellowships, Scholarships and outright grants, as well as longterm payment loans. Both need and merit should play significant roles in financial aid decisions. Using these two criteria may well necessitate a re-examination of the meaning of "need" and "merit" in order to provide a greater degree of access equity to all socio-economic classes.

4. Since critical shortages of Blacks in medicine, law, and dentistry will continue to exist in the foreseeable future, every effort should be made to accelerate the recruitment of Blacks into these fields. Simultaneously, special efforts must be made toward recruiting more Blacks into other fields of allied health in which the demands are particularly high.

5. Black students should be encouraged to increasingly diversify their fields of study at graduate and semi-professional levels. The fact that 43 percent of all black graduate students are still enrolled in education programs is shocking in view of the critical shortages existing elsewhere and the talent among persons seeking degrees in Education which should be disseminated to other fields of study. Sponsor workshops and career programs in high schools and colleges to acquaint black students with the increasingly varied career opportunities opening in all fields of study at the graduate and professional levels. The need for black Ph.D.'s, for example, is immense but it is less critical in Education than it is in a number of other fields.

6. Rejected applicants from graduate and professional schools should be continually counseled in order to pinpoint their weaknesses and what is required to gain admission to graduate and professional schools wherever the potential is manifest among rejected applicants. Other rejected applicants should be counseled into other areas of interest in which their potential can be better fulfilled.

7. Whenever black students are admitted to graduate and/or professional schools under the rubric of "special admission," and if "special admission" connotes academic deficiencies, the admitting institution has the first responsibility to provide whatever academic support services necessary for assisting such students to eliminate those deficiencies and then to be re-classified as a regularly admitted student.

8. Encourage equity in the availability of professors and other academic resources to black students enrolled in graduate and professional schools.

9. Encourage equity in grading and in the academic preparation of all students. Wherever they exist, condemn and eliminate the racist practices of lowering performance expectations of black students. It is just as cruel and crippling to deceive a person into believing that he/she is good to excellent in accomplishments, when in fact he/she is not, as it is to fail them when they deserve to be graded satisfactorily or with honors.

10. Major studies should be undertaken to examine:
    a. retention and attrition in graduate and professional schools; including factors associated with retention and established programs designed to reduce attrition at those levels;
    b. comparative Success/Failure Rates of black and white professional graduates in taking bar examinations, medical boards, and in being certified by Boards of Examiners in Architecture and in other fields requiring State certification. (Encourage plaintiffs to seek redress whenever they feel justifiably agrieved.)
    c. Access of black faculty, administrators and staff to graduate and professional school employment; in what capacities are they employed; at what rank and salary, and the rate of promotion or advancement.

In our action and policy roles shouldn't we stress demands for clearer articulation between education and the labor market in higher education generally? While a general liberal arts education may serve the mind and spirit, an appreciation for vocationally oriented education is needed if women and minorities are not to remain seriously disadvantaged in the market. This seems necessary both for the settings in which young black

women are educated as well as for continuing education settings in which older black women may return as they try to alter their lives.

Recent developments in career education, mentioned above, have found their way into liberal arts. Just this year, the College Placement Council[90] prepared a position paper addressed to the plight of the traditional liberal arts graduate, and made the following recommendations:

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Make available a broader selection of elective courses that would benefit liberal arts graduates in a work environment.

Provide opportunities for all types of experiential education (cooperative education programs, scheduled part-time and intermittent work-learn experience, internships.)

Provide greater support, from the freshman year on, to the career planning and placement function as an important link in the overall educational program.

Introduces a career planning course and encourage students to take it no later than the sophomore year.

Involve faculty members as specialized career advisors.

EMPLOYERS

Re-examine job specifications, bearing in mind that a basic liberal arts education produces a person who is capable of growth and is educable in a continuing sense.

Participate actively in cooperative education, internship, and career information programs.

Give financial support to areas clearly identified with career planning objectives.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Provide additional financial assistance for career counseling programs and cooperative education experiences at colleges and universities.

Intensify efforts to develop and disseminate information on occupational trends.

Create more career materials for college students, utilizing all media.

STUDENTS

Take advantage of career planning programs early, preferably by the sophomore year.

Select a minor or elective courses that will demonstrate interest in business, industry, and government.

Take part in experiental programs offered by colleges and employers.

Identify employment options and remain flexible regarding career decisions.

Recognize that, once employed, progress will depend upon continuing education and training.

The liberal arts dilemma has become a problem of deep national concern, and only a strong national effort can produce meaningful solutions. Hopefully, this College Placement Council position paper will serve as a catalyst.

Because women students are more prone to select arts and social sciences rather than the "hard sciences," these recommendations are especially timely.

Shouldn't we emphasize the importance in vocational education or course work that enables women to obtain higher earnings? Moreover shouldn't we emphasize teaching methods and curricula that enable these women to continue learning? One reason people shy away from returning to school is their lack of facility in learning. It is well-known that unemployment lines are filled with persons who have been trained for dead-in jobs. Current technological developments demands that workers be re-trainable.

Private industry, first through Plans for Progress Companies and more recently through the National Alliance of Business, has demonstrated that it can engage in joint ventures with colleges and universities for the education of counselors, principals and teachers on matters related to the employment problems of disadvantaged youth.[91] Beginning in 1964, these workshops are still being offered where education and industry are willing to cooperate. What counselors ought to insist upon is that special attention be turned to the employment problems of black girls.

To recapitulate, milieu management calls upon counselors to impact both their own work settings and the larger society. The kind of thinking we are suggesting requires that counselors incorporate another new practice in to the way they function. Some counselors are continually changing and growing in competence. They grasp ideas like these automatically. They will work to bring about change in their individual settings and will be very effective. Where they know that change can

be brought about only through group action, they will use various ad hoc women's liberation groups and political action groups as a base of operation. Others need stimulation in the form of in-service education, for by and large, pre-service education programs are just beginning to teach skills in change-agentry.

Counselor Education

In order for counselors to function in ways that are appropriate to the development of black women they must be carefully educated professional. They must understand the labor force information as we have presented it in this paper and they must continue to up-date their knowledge. They must understand what self-fulfillment means to black women and how it is related to theories of career development. Both graduates and in-service education must help them to learn the skills and competencies discussed above. In their preparation programs they ought to confront sexist attitudes and the meaning of the black experience.

With a great deal of emphasis being placed upon the negative effects racism can exert on black students, we worry that there are other racial attitudes that may be equally damaging. In contrast to white counselors who overtly block the growth of black students, some over-compensate for perceived disadvantagement by expecting less of them. These counselors accept whatever students produce rather than encouraging them to perform to do their best.

We have attempted to identify this phenomenon in white, master's degree counselor education students using the Situational Attitude Scale (SAS).[92] The SAS was developed to measure the attitude of whites toward Blacks. White counselor education students at two universities have consistently scored at the positive or liberal pole rather than at the negative, or racist pole.[93] We have labeled them "super liberal". As a consequence we have been helping them to explore another dimension of racism. This does not mean that we can ignore typical racist attitudes. Rather such attitudes may be more complex than we had assumed, and require a new version of anti-racism (?) training.

Conclusion

Counselors and people with responsibility for educational and training programs must understand the market position of black women as well as the role of expectancies in their educational and occupational aspirations and in their market behavior. We cannot predict the future, but we can get our heads straight. We stress the vital role of competent counselors in producing change. Without full involvement, skill and strong dedication of these persons who understand career development, and ways to facilitate it, there is little chance of change. Whether they work with individual black women and girls or with groups, confine action to their own settings or become activists, the ultimate urgencies will prevail and the ultimate outcomes should emerge; choice, effectiveness, individuality, and fulfillment for black women.

Median Income of White Men, Black Men, White Women and Black Women in the Experienced Civilian Force With Earnings in 1969, By Work Experience, Years of School Completed, and Age

1969 Income	Worked in 1969				Worked 50-52 Weeks in 1969			
	White Men[1]	Black Men[2]	White Women[3]	Black Women[4]	White Men[1]	Black Men[2]	White Women[3]	Black Women[4]
Total 25-64 Years Old	8870	5809	4190	3280	9253	6249	4986	3944
Elementary: 0-8	6717	4637	3354	2193	7160	5043	4023	2569
High School: 1-3	8161	5800	3671	2881	8488	6176	4445	3580
High School: 4	8951	6702	4212	3910	9187	7041	5106	4565
College: 1-3	9907	7520	4810	4885	10,398	7918	5766	5595
College 4	12,674	8383	6504	6742	13,228	8952	7255	7118
College: 5+	13,436	10,484	8164	8478	14,313	11,373	8894	8787
Total 25-34 Years Old	8428	5893	4128	3663	8839	6346	5175	4403
Elementary: 0-8	6097	4338	2978	2275	6618	4743	3980	2935
High School: 1-3	7481	5353	3173	2823	7910	5749	4282	3671
High School: 4	8388	6450	3989	3886	8613	6789	5037	4592
College 1-3	8824	7223	4599	4767	9190	7699	5724	5544
College: 4	10,325	7975	6277	6492	11,212	8715	7206	6971
College: 5+	10,579	9013	7106	7461	11,808	9955	8128	7957
Total 35-54 Years Old	9392	5978	4172	3294	9736	6403	4966	3901
Elementary: 0-8	6975	4790	3378	2240	7422	5200	4038	2630
High School: 1-3	8507	6127	3744	2984	8775	6462	4471	3607
High School: 4	9423	7049	4230	3977	9651	7400	5112	4583
College: 1-3	11,138	7870	4766	5047	11,500	8193	5776	5670
College: 4	14,151	8836	6464	7049	14,591	9327	7294	7293
College: 5+	15,563	11,608	8524	8799	16,763	12,277	9300	9105

1. U.S. Census of Population Subject Reports, PC(2)-8B. Earnings by Occupation and Education, 1970, Table 1, p. 1.

2. Ibid., Table 2, p. 127

3. Ibid., Table 7, p. 242.

4. Ibid., Table 8, p. 310.

Table 2

Median Income of White Men, Black Men, White Women and Black Women in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in Professional and Technical Jobs in 1969, By Work Experience, Years of College and Age

1969 Income	Worked in 1969				Worked 50 - 52 Weeks in 1969			
	White Men[1]	Black Men[2]	White Women[3]	Black Women[4]	White Men[1]	Black Men[2]	White Women[3]	Black Women[4]
Total 25-64 Years Old	11,848	8636	6493	6573	12,337	9095	7197	6771
College: 1-3	10,840	8303	5482	5998	11,200	8616	6773	6669
College: 4	12,427	8682	6850	6956	13,094	9490	7794	7460
College: 5+	13,270	10,691	8316	8599	14,200	11,684	9063	8971
Total 25-34 Years Old	9754	8023	6156	6268	10,560	8606	7093	6619
College: 1-3	9225	7914	5044	5750	9,547	8352	6611	6406
College: 4	10,187	8153	6488	6691	11,244	8981	7567	7296
College: 5+	10,484	9180	7313	7745	11,786	10,235	8302	8328
Total 35-54 Years Old	13,184	9296	6457	6730	13,465	9720	7186	6715
College: 1-3	12,017	8838	5367	5994	12,230	9013	6779	6851
College: 4	14,104	9378	6922	6752	14,503	10,467	7916	6937
College: 5+	15,431	11,888	8653	9028	16,833	12,644	9449	9138

[1] U.S. Census of Population Subject Reports, PC(2)-8B. Earnings by Occupation and Education, 1970, Table 1, p.2.

[2] Ibid., Table 2, p. 128.

[3] Ibid., Table 7, p. 243.

[4] Ibid., Table 8, p. 311

Table 3

Typical Income and Occupational Ratios Used in Market Analyses, and, Ratios Using White Men as the Normative Group

	Traditional Ratios				Ratios Using White Men as Normative		
	Race Differentials		Sex Differentials				
Income Ratios for Workers Who Worked 50-52 Weeks in 1969[1]	Black Men/ White Men	Black Women/ White Women	White Women/ White Men	Black Women/ Black Men	Black Men/ White Men	White Women/ White Men	Black Women/ White Men
All workers 25-64	67.5%	79.1%	53.9%	63.1%	67.5%	53.9%	42.6%
Workers with:							
Elementary (0-8)	70.4%	63.9%	56.2%	50.9%	70.4%	56.2%	35.9%
High School (1-3)	72.8%	80.4%	52.4%	57.9%	72.8%	52.4%	42.2%
High School (4)	76.6%	89.4%	55.6%	64.8%	76.6%	55.6%	49.7%
College (1-3)	69.2%	97.0%	55.4%	70.7%	69.2%	55.4%	53.8%
College (4)	67.7%	98.1%	54.8%	79.5%	67.7%	54.8%	53.8%
College (5+)	79.5%	98.8%	62.1%	77.3%	79.5%	62.1%	61.4%
	Race differentials greater among men than women		Sex differentials greater among whites than Blacks		Differential between black women and white men greatest		
Occupational Positions in 1970[2]	80%	89%	51%	57%	80%	51%	45%
	Race difference greater among men than women		Sex difference greater among whites than Blacks		Difference between black women and white men greatest		

[1] These differentials are figured from Table 1
[2] These differentials are figured from occupational indices presented by Ashenfelter and Heckman, op. cit., Table 1-1

Table 4

Life Changes People Tried to Make or Thought About Making, By Sex and Race

What Respondents Tried to do to Change Their Lives	White Men	Black Men	White Women	Black Women
Returned to high school, entered technical or non-college professional school, or other non-college education.	31%	29%	40%	69%
College level or higher education	15	15	20	13
Job training	5	15	3	8
Work changes	46	41	37	10
Other	3	--	--	--
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
What Respondents who did not Actually Try Had Thought About Doing				
Returned to high school, entered technical or non-college professional school, or other non-college education.	22%	65%	44%	59%
College level or higher education	16	11	28	15
Job training	2	5	--	--
Work changes	57	16	25	15
Other	3	--	3	11
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5

Combined Changes People with Less Than College Education Tried or Thought About, by Sex and Race

What Respondents Tried or Thought About	White Men	Black Men	White Women	Black Women
Educational Changes	44%	57%	66%	78%
Job Training	5	13	3	7
Work Changes	49	27	29	12
Other	2	3	2	3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(279)	(30)	(332)	(60)

$x^2 = 61.4$

Gamma = 0.36

Educational Goals and Expectancies of Men and Women at the Senior and Freshman Levels, 1964 and 1970, Our Sample of Historically Black Colleges

	1964				1970			
	Freshmen		Seniors		Freshmen		Seniors	
Ideal Educational Goal	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Proportion who said they wanted to go to graduate or professional school some time in the future	89%	84%	89%	81%	94%	91%	92%	88%
	x^2 = 5.16		x^2 = 11.3		x^2 = 1.82		x^2 = 2.42	
	p = .025		p = .001		p = NS		p = NS	
Educational Expectancies								
Proportion Who: Were completely certain they would go eventually	32%	35%	11%	5%	42%	41%	18%	9%
Were pretty certain they would go eventually	32	30	41	43	30	30	45	50
Were somewhat (or pretty) uncertain they would go eventually	36	35	48	52	28	29	37	41
	x^2 = 1.34		x^2 = 11.16		x^2 = .04		x^2 = 10.02	
	p = NS		p = .001		p = NS		p = .001	
Proportion Who: Expected to go immediately after college	41	38	37	20	43	31	32	19
	x^2 = .97		x^2 = 22.59		x^2 = 9.42		x^2 = 12.88	
	p = NS		p = .001		p = .006		p = .001	
	(490)	(450)	(465)	(32)	(309)	(282)	(280)	(256)

Table 7

Higher Education Degrees Planned by Men and Women at the Freshman and Senior Levels, 1964 and 1970, Our Sample of Historically Black Colleges

e Planned:	1964 Freshmen Men	1964 Freshmen Women	1964 Seniors Men	1964 Seniors Women	1970 Freshmen Men	1970 Freshmen Women	1970 Seniors Men	1970 Seniors Women
vanced degree (said did not want to nue)	11%	16%	11%	19%	6%	9%	8%	12%
r's degrees	37	59	35	64	49	64	44	73
	15	15	19	12	17	18	17	8
ssional degrees	37	10	35	5	28	9	31	3
	100% (490)	100% (450)	100% (465)	100% (432)	100% (309)	100% (282)	100% (280)	100% (256)
	x^2 = 98.77 p = .001		x^2 = 149.73 p = .001		x^2 = 36.83 p = .001		x^2 = 120.42 p = .001	

Table 8

Ranking by Men and Women of the Twenty-Five Jobs Highest In Desirability to Men and The Twenty-Five Highest to Women, Our Special 1964 Sample of Historically Black Colleges

TOP TWENTY-FIVE FOR MEN

	Rank Position In Desirability	
	Men	Women
architect or designer	1	55
doctor in private practice	2	17.5
staff surgeon at a large hospital	4.5	42
industrial research scientist	4.5	83.5
lawyer in private practice	4.5	31.5
lawyer in civil rights work	4.5	42
school administrator	9	1
statistician or chief statistician in a government agency	9	42
engineer	9	69
marketing or advertising executive		
IBM computer programmer		
pharmacist	14.5	31.5
foreign service or diplomatic corps	14.5	55
scientific consultant in the space agency	14.5	83.5
technician (aeronautical, automotive or similar kind)	14.5	55
college professor of engineering	14.5	83.5
college professor of physics, chemistry or other science	14.5	69
veterinarian	21.5	55
college professor of law		
mathematician	21.5	69
IBM machine operator	21.5	2.5
elected public official	21.5	42
office manager of a large concern	21.5	5.5
business administrator or executive	21.5	31.5
psychiatrist	21.5	31.5

TOP TWENTY-FIVE FOR WOMEN

	Rank Position In Desirability	
	Men	Women
school administrator	9	1
IBM machine operator	21.5	2.5
fashion designer	96	2.5
interior decorator	59	5.5
administrator in a social welfare agency	29.5	5.5
child psychologist or child development expert	88	5.5
special education teacher	88	5.5
social worker	44	8.5
IBM computer programmer	9	8.5
counselor or psychological thereapist	29.5	12.5
working with youth groups	50	12.5
professional civil rights work	29.5	12.5
nursery school teacher	68	12.5
elementary school teacher	68	12.5
legal or medical secretary	124	12.5
airline stewardess	148	17.5
typist	131	17.5
doctor in private practice	2	17.5
social scientist	29.5	17.5
physical or occupational therapist	38	23
stenographer or secretary	130	23
key punch operator	59	23
home economist	142	23
assistant in a science laboratory	74	23
librarian	80.5	23
nurse	147	23

Table 9

Level of Occupational Aspiration of Senior Men and Women, 1964 and 1970, Our Sample of Historically Black Colleges

	1964 [1]		1970 [2]	
AVERAGE LEVEL OF ASPIRATION	Men	Women	Men	Women
Prestige				
(Range 1-5; 5=high)	2.93	2.70	2.95	2.56
	t=7.79	(.001)	t=8.21	(.001)
Ability Demands				
(Range 1-7; 7=high)	3.62	2.85	3.65	2.92
	t=12.33	(.001)	t=14.28	(.001)
Nontraditionality				
(Average % blacks in occupation)	3.14	5.16	3.17	6.12
	t=11.73	(.001)	t=14.2	(.001)

[1] These average aspiration scores are based on the 1964 data from 483 seniors, 257 men and 226 women, attending the six colleges that participated in the cross-sectional studies in both 1964 and 1970.

[2] These averages are based on 536 seniors, 280 men and 256 women, who participated in the 1970 cross-sectional study of six black colleges.

Table 10

Interrelationships Among Several Dimensions of Level of Aspiration Reflected By the Occupational Choices of Men and Women in 1964.[1] Our Sample of Historically Black Colleges

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Desirability of the choice to like-sexed peers	1.00				
2. Prestige the choice is judged to have	+.89 (+.31)	1.00			
3. Ability demands the choice is judged to have	+.64 (-.31)	+.69 (+.51)	1.00		
4. Social difficulty the choice is judged to have for blacks	+.58 (-.12)	+.52 (+.43)	+.67 (+.79)	1.00	
5. Nontraditionality of the choice (percent black in the chosen occupation by 1960)	+.61 (-.16)	+.54 (+.13)	+.57 (+.18)	+.68 (+.36)	1.00

[1]This analysis is based on the 2939 students, 1180 men and 1759 women, who participated in the 1964 cross-sectional study of ten black colleges. The correlations for men appear first, followed by those for women, in parentheses.

Table 11

Job Expectancies and Job-Related Ability Confidence by

Sex and Race, Covarying Education

(1972 National Election Study, Survey Research Center)

Job Expectancies	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women
If Employed: If you should lose your present job, what would you say were your chances of finding another job that was just as good as your present job in all respects?	2.41	2.60	2.87	2.72

If Unemployed: What do you think your chances will be of getting a good job in that line of work (the kind R looking for?)

(Range 1-4, 1=very good, 5= not good at all)

White men higher expectancies than white women, p 05
and black women, p 02
and black men, p 06

Job-Related Ability Confidence

If Employed: Compared to most other people doing your kind of work, How much ability do you think you have? Do you think you have much more ability, a little more, about the same, or a little less ability than most other people doing your kind of work?	2.32	2.49	2.38	2.57

If Unemployed: Compared to most other people doing that kind (the kind R looking for) of work, how much ability do you think you have?

(Range 1-4, 1=much more, 4= a little less)

White men greater self confidence than white women, p 01
and black women, p 03

Table 12

Ideological and Personal Components of Internal-External Control By Sex and Race, Covarying Education

(1972 National Election Study, Survey Research Center)

	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women
Six Item Control Ideology Factor				
Internal alternatives refer to Protestant Ethic cirtues; external alternatives refer to fate, chance (0=internal; 6=external)	2.49	2.79	2.53	2.46
White men more internal than white women, p.002 No other comparisons significant				
Two Item Success Mobility Ideology Factor				
Internal alternatives refer to Protestant Ethic explanations for getting ahead on the job; external alternatives refer to fate or being in the right place at the right time (0=internal; 2=external)	0.57	0.50	0.70	0.60
No Scheffe comparisons significant				
Three Item Interpersonal Control Factor				
Internal alternatives refer to "you" knowing how to make and keep friends; external alternatives refer to "you" not being able to influence interpersonal outcomes (0=internal; 3=external)	1.03	1.00	1.73	1.40
White men more internal than black men, p.0001 and black women, p. 001 White women more internal than black men, p.0001 and black women, p.0007				
Four Item Political Control Factor				
Internal alternatives refer to the "citizen" or "a person" being able to influence domestic political events; external alternatives refer to these events not being controllable by people (0=internal; 4=external)	1.81	1.84	1.94	2.23
White men more internal than black women, p.008 White women more internal than black women, p.01				

Table 12 continued

	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women
Five Item Sense of Personal Control				
Internal alternatives refer to "I" or "my" control over life events; external alternatives refer to "I can't" or "fate does" control life events (0=internal; 5=external)	1.61	1.81	2.53	2.26
	White men more internal than white women, p.01 and black men, p.0001 and black women, p.0001			
	White women more internal than black men, p.0008 and black women, p. 005			
Twenty[1] Item Total Internal External Control Scale				
(0=internal; 20=external)	7.96	8.36	10.04	9.60
	White men more internal than white women, p. 06 and black men, p.0004 and black women, p.0002			
	White women more internal than black men, p. 004 and black women, p. 004			

[1]Three of the original 23 Rotter Internal-External Control items were not asked in the national study because they referred to classroom situations that did not seem to apply to an adult sample. Two items on the Control Ideology Factor came from items traditionally used at the Institute for Social Research instead of from the Rotter I-E items. This means that 18 of the twenty items represented on the five factors presented above were from the Rotter items and are included in the total I-E Control scores.

Table 13

Sense of Personal Efficacy by Sex and Race Covarying Education

(1972 National Election Study, Survey Research Center)

Item Responses	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women
(Range 1-5, 1=efficacy)				
Do you think it's better to plan your life a good way ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?	2.06	2.26	2.31	2.34
	No Scheffe comparisons significant			
When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry things out the way you expected or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?	3.00	2.86	3.42	3.37
	White men feel more efficacious than black men, p.08 and black women, p.07 White women feel more efficacious than black men, p.03 and black women, p.01			
Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?	3.28	3.40	4.08	4.14
	White men feel more efficacious than black men, p.002 and black women, p.0001 White women feel more efficacious than black men, p.01 and black women, p.0003			
Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are too big for them. Which one are you like?	1.69	1.97	2.62	2.60
	White men feel more efficacious than white women, p.0001 and black men, p.0001 and black women, p.0001 White women feel more efficacious than black men, p. 002 and black women, p.0002			

Table 14

Ambition and Personal Efficacy, By

Sex and Race

(1972 Study of Income Dynamics, Survey Research Center)

	Heads of Households			
	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women
Ambition Index				
(Range 0-9; 9=high)	2.91	2.71	3.14	3.14

White men higher ambition scores than white women, p.006
Black men higher ambition scores than white men, p.0002
and white women, p.0000
Black women higher ambition scores than white men, p.0009
and white women, p.0000

Personal Efficacy Index				
(Range 0-7, 7=high)	3.38	2.72	2.86	2.22

White men feel greater efficacy than white women, p.0000
and black men, p.0000
and black women, p.0000
White women feel greater efficacy than black women, p.0000
Black men feel greater efficacy than black women, p.0000

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BASELINE DATA
ON
MID-CAREER CHANGE AND REENTRY
FOR BLACK WOMEN

Beatrice Abel Cossey

and

Glen O. Toney, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Equal employment opportunity, to some, has become synonymous with such terms as freedom, liberty and justice in America. Equality of employment opportunity ideally requires a state of things in which everyone, regardless of the circumstance of birth, has an equal chance to compete for success with those at their own level of aptitude, intelligence and ambition. Employment opportunity has, however, acquired a structure which indicates that certain relationships or events occur more consistently than one would expect them to do by chance (Miller and Woock, 1970).

Milier and Woock (1970) described the circumstances that consistently tend to decrease employment opportunity as: geographical, social class and ethnicity. They stated,

> "To be born in the south of the United States, whether one is white or black, handicaps a person unless he happens to be fortunate in his family circumstances."(p.6)

On social class they stated,

> "Children born to relatively well-to-do families with fathers engaged in high-status occupations consistently do better than others." (p.6)

And on ethnicity,

> "To be born a non-white or to a family whose recent origins are not in the United States (unless those origins are in Northern Europe) tend to depress access to opportunity." (p.6)

Using Miller and Woock's (1970) criteria, being poor, of a racial minority, and born in the south would place you at the bottom of the employment ladder in the United States. Overlaying their criteria with yet another element, sex, identifies a group with even less employment opportunity. Poor women who are members of a racial minority group and born in the south would be, perhaps, on the bottom one-fifth of the employment ladder.

This paper examines employment opportunities of one element of the bottom one-fifth, employment opportunities for black women, and the impact of newly-devised educational programs on their employment status (Cossey, 1974).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to gather baseline data on the employment picture of black females who are currently employed or who have reentered a training or educational program involving direct job opportunities.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Educational Counselor

Black women must have an understanding of the psychological and sociological variables which contribute to decisions concerning college, and be able to apply them "diagnostically" and "therapeutically" to assist actual potential black students in their educational and vocational planning. Therefore, educational counselor is defined in this paper as one who has a clear, unsentimental, factual understanding of black students and serves to assist with program development, career and vocational placement, and academic and personal counseling. According to Bryson and Bardo (1975) "counselor training programs, as they exist, have not provided students adequate preparation for working with black population." (p. 13).

2. Nontraditional/Unconventional Student

For this paper we have used Lightfoote Wilson's (1974) definition. She says, "from the outset Traditional Education employs numerous hierarchical and individualistic concepts for its main terminology. These terms, when applied in schooling procedures, inevitably stress divisiveness and competition. The subscribers to and teachers of these terms stress inclusion and support of some "acceptable/successful" learners, while they exclude and discourage the Nontraditional/Unconventional learners--those who do not fit the customary goals, backgrounds, appearances, perceptions, and conceptual orientations of Traditional Education (and educators). Some of Traditional Education's hierarchical concepts are 'lower-class', 'bottom' students and 'below normal' vs. 'upper-class', 'top' students and 'above-average' students." (p.1)

3. Reentry

A deliberate attempt to try once again the economic systems utilizing learning experience for gains in higher income level positions. Reentry is the readiness to expand opportunities of all educational levels, including post secondary institutions (blue collar) worker, journeyman, and apprenticeship programs in crafts.

4. Reentry Women's Programs

Structures, blocked-in courses, incorporating in every aspect a planned program which meets the total needs and environment of the WREP women. Course plan includes child growth and development (family), sociology (community), guidance (self), consumer education (community), and ethnic studies. The program's curriculum is planned with continuity, sequence, integration and the scope clearly defined (Anderson, 1974).

5. Professional Black Women

For this paper, a nontraditional criterion defines Professional Black Women as those who have worked at an occupation for a period of more than two years. The survey uses this definition for such occupations as, for example, food handler and beautician. This definition differs from the conventional understanding of "professional" which implies an academic orientation. The reason is because in society where black persons have had disrupted employment experiences, black women have accepted occupations of short time spans.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Contemporary studies on the work force in America provide little information on the black female in or out of the work force. The United States Department of Labor studies primarily deal with employment or unemployment figures, sizes, and educational levels. Little research has been performed to determine: how black women chose their careers, if they were trained for their career, their opinion on their advancement or lack of advancement, and what institutional barriers they are encountering. This study seeks to acquire this and other information pertaining to the working conditions and training of black females.

RESEARCH METHODS

This descriptive study was primarily concerned with investigating the feelings, presumptions and work histories of black females either employed or involved in retraining programs for future careers. Mean scores were computed to determine average conditions and responses to a questionnaire administered to a sample population of black females in California.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Fifteen black professional women's organizations in the state of California were contacted regarding this study. Each organization was apprised of the nature of the study and asked if their memberships could be utilized as part of the sample population for the study. Nine organizations agreed and 100 women were randomly selected from the rolls of the nine organizations to participate in this study.

Seven colleges which have Women's Reentry Programs (Lightfoote Wilson, 1974), were also contacted and asked to participate in the study. From their combined list of black female students at the seven colleges, 100 were randomly selected to participate in the study. The names of individuals, on both lists, were cross-sorted in order to eliminate any names that may have occurred in both groups.

Two questionnaires were developed, one directed toward the members of the black professional women's organizations and the other toward the women in the reentry programs.

All questionnaires were mailed to participants with a self-addressed, stamped envelope enclosed.

FINDINGS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

RESPONSES FROM BLACK PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

Of the 100 questionnaires mailed to black professional women, 48 percent were returned. The following data were derived from their questionnaires on employment information. The average respondent completed 70.1 units of post secondary education with an overall reported grade point average of 3.2 on a 4.0 scale. Thirty-seven percent of the respondents were considered low achievers before they entered college. Four percent of the respondents had Ph.D.'s, 13 percent had M.A.'s, 19 percent had B.A.'s, and 2 percent had A.A. degrees. Fifty-two percent of the respondents are currently working in jobs for which they were trained; 48 percent are working in different fields than their training. It took the average respondent 3.3 years to acquire a job after her preparation.

The range of time involved in acquiring a job after preparation was 0 to 10 years. Fifty percent of the respondents felt that advancement had been denied them because they were Black; 35 percent thought they were denied promotion because they were female.

Sixty percent of the respondents earn less than $10,000 per year; 26 percent between $10,000 and $15,000 per year; 14 percent earn between $15,000 and $20,000 per year.

Eighty-four percent feel affirmative action has not hindered their employment opportunities; 16 percent felt it had.

Sixty-three percent did not need child care facilities, but 37 percent did. Twenty-three percent are currently using child care services, and 77 percent are not.

Fifty-three percent of the respondents are currently getting reinforcement for their endeavors from their husband or male friend, and 47 percent are not. Sixty-eight percent do not feel that their drive for success and higher pay will interfere with their relationship with husband or male friend.

Fifty-nine percent of the respondents feel that they are currently under-employed.

Forty-seven percent of the respondents chose their current jobs by analyzing future employment needs; 42 percent because of prior interest; 9 percent were advised by educational counselors; 2 percent were advised by a friend. The most pressing problem facing 44 percent of the respondents is the inability of personnel staff to understand black women; 28 percent indicated that the racist attitudes of co-workers was their most pressing problem; 19 percent indicated a lack of reasonably priced housing; 9 percent stated that a lack of low-cost transportation was their most pressing problem.

BLACK WOMEN INVOLVED IN REENTRY PROGRAMS

Of the 100 questionnaires mailed to black women involved in the Reentry Programs, 58 percent were returned. The following information was derived from their questionnaires. Fifty-nine percent of the black women enrolled in Reentry Programs were enrolled at community colleges, and 41 percent at four-year institutions.

The Reentry students completed an average of 66.1 units of post-secondary credit and obtained an average grade point of 2.8 on a scale of 4.0. Forty-one percent of the respondents were considered non-achievers before they reentered college. The average secondary school completion rate was 11.5 grades. Twenty-seven percent listed marriage as the reason for not completing their education; 5 percent maternity; 25 percent financial difficulties; 3 percent needed to help at home; 22 percent listed inadequate counseling; 3 percent were indecisive; 2 percent worked; 2 percent moved; 2 percent listed instability. Seventy-two percent were employed before reentering college.

The average respondent was employed for a period of 0 to 5 years. The majority of the respondents were previously employed in the child care or clerical fields.

Fifty-seven percent of the respondents reported some type of re-training for their jobs before entering college. Twenty-seven percent of those individuals who received some type of job training for their prior job received it at a skill center or federally-supported project.

Fourteen percent of the respondents reported that they were on welfare; 14 percent reported that they were receiving aid to dependent child; 25 percent reported that they are currently receiving food stamps. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents reported that they did not need day care services; 84 percent reported that they were not currently using child care facilities.

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents reported that they returned to school for personal development; 24 percent to support self with better job; 13 percent reported change in family status; 13 percent stated training was needed for job advancement; 15 percent reported a

change in occupation; 7 percent were recruited. Seventy-five percent of the respondents were not concerned that their drive for more education and a better job would interfere with their relationship with their husband or male friend. Fifty-one percent reported that they are currently receiving psychological support from the man in their life for continuing their education.

Thirty-one percent of the respondents reported that peers were giving them the most help at school; 27 percent reported black faculty gave them the most help; black studies or ethnic studies staff, 13 percent; counseling staff, 12 percent; department head, 11 percent; white faculty, 3 percent; tutors, 2 percent.

Twenty-five percent of the respondents reported that racist attitudes of administrators was their biggest barrier; 24 percent reported the lack of information about proper procedures such as registration, course requirements and graduation requirements as their greatest barrier; 14 percent reported the racist attitude of faculty; 11 percent the insensitivity of counselors; 8 percent the lack of financial support; 5 percent the sexist bias of administrators; 5 percent the sexist bias of faculty; 6 percent reported the inability of the counseling staff to understand black women to be their greatest barrier on campus.

Fifty-five percent of the respondents reported that their current pursuits in college were based on previous interest; 26 percent reported their current pursuit was based on future job availability; 12 percent, educational counseling; 7 percent, vocational counseling. Twenty-five percent of the respondents cited the inability of counselors to communicate with black women.

Major problems encountered by black women in Reentry Programs were reported as follows: 20 percent reported the lack of money for books, fees, and supplies; 16 percent reported the lack of financial aids; 13 percent reported the lack of reasonable, low-cost housing; 9 percent reported the lack of adequate career counseling; 9 percent reported the lack of low-cost transportation.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In order to understand the particular problems that are confronting black women in America today, one must have some understanding of the present state of the economy and of the job market as it relates to black females. Government data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Census (1975) clearly illustrate that not all Blacks shared equally in the opportunities of the 1960's.

The slight upsurge in black employment in the 1960's resulted from the advance in the economy, the adoption of landmark civil rights legislation, the recession of 1969-70, as well as the accelerated

inflation of 1973, and the economic decline in 1974. In some cases, the economic advancements of Blacks have actually been reversed by these economic difficulties.

Black economics should be viewed in the context of the total economic picture for Blacks, particularly since Blacks still maintain a disproportionate number of unskilled, low-income jobs.

In 1973, the non-white labor force constituted 11 percent of the total labor force, yet they held 20.6 percent of all non-farm unskilled jobs, 38.5 percent of all private household service jobs, and 14.2 percent of farm labor jobs. The figures for service workers, including private household, consist of 38.1 percent black women and 15.4 percent black males (Women's Bureau, 1973).

In families headed by a female, low income bears heavily on their overall condition. While most women supporting a family would choose full-time employment, the presence of children and the absence of adequate day care facilities forces marginal employment status. The critical nature of the female-headed family is revealed most strikingly in the changing profile of the black poor (Roth, 1974). In 1959, 32 percent of all poor black families were headed by females. In the light of the reduction of poverty in the black population over the 1960's, the number of female-headed poor, non-white families still increased from 683,000 in 1959 to 1,023,000 in 1972. Today, over 63 percent of all poor black families depend on a female as the primary breadwinner (Roth, 1974).

The improvement in the black employment picture between 1960 and 1969 was due, essentially, to the advancement in employment opportunity for black men.

Roth (1974) says that, since 1969, the poverty level among Blacks has risen from 7.5 million to 8.3 million in 1972.

The current population report of the United States Bureau of Commerce states that, in 1973, statistics showed that the black labor force consisted of 50 percent adult men, 41 percent adult women, and 9 percent teenagers. The Bureau of Census figures showed that the unemployment situation among adult black women has not improved as rapidly as those of the adult black men.

Black teenage women in 1972 had an unemployment rate of 38.5 percent, while the general labor force unemployment rate was somewhere in the range of 4.9 percent. Bureau of Census of Commerce (1975) reports, "In 1972, the median income of all black families in the south was $5370, 55 percent of that of white families."

The 1972 figures for black families in the south demonstrates an increase over prior years. The increase, however, must be tempered by

the fact that, in many cases, it represents the combined earnings of multi-workers within the family. Roth (1974) states, "This phenomenon now accounts for 67 percent of all young black families in the north and west. Three-quarters of all young southern black families consist of husband-wife incomes." Therefore, the progress of the 1960's clearly has not affected the condition of black families headed by women.

The black woman is responsible for her family and sees the obvious need to make an adequate income to support her family. Thomas Roth (1974), in analyzing statistics, said, "In 1960, 22 percent of all black families were headed by a woman. By 1973, the rising incidence of broken homes left 33 percent of black families with female heads. In constrast, only 10 percent of white families are without a male head."

Until 1970 there was little offered by post secondary education to meet the need of unemployed black females. Cross and Valley (1974) proposed individualized counseling, career guidance, and career orientation which would allow students to consider their own potentials and perhaps change the pattern of black female employment from the high incidence of domestic workers to more challenging endeavors.

Because there were families to care for and a lack of adequate child care, black mothers were unable to take advantage of such programs.

Warnaths (1971) revealed that many of the new, "nontraditional" students go unassisted or develop other contacts from which to acquire information. He stated:

> Blacks particularly have insisted that the counselors (who) come from white, middle-class society, selected and trained in the intellectual-verbal tradition of the middle-class, and imbued with white society's traditional values, cannot possibly communicate with young Blacks. These charges are not dismissed easily, for the differences in language and outlook become readily apparent after a short conversation with a young person from one of the minority groups. (p.14)

Lack of career guidance and counseling, lack of health care, and lack of occupational education also complicated the black female's reentry to post secondary education. Most of all, the black female needs financial aids--some way to support her family while implementing a major change in her own life to prepare herself for entry into the labor force. This preparation requires occupational or apprenticeship (vocational) training, psychological adjustment, and emotional retraining in order to prepare for a new career. Once she is retrained and has completely prepared herself educationally and psychologically, she must encounter a male-dominated work world.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The overall trend, it would seem, is that many more black women are becoming career oriented, but they are starting from the bottom of the scale, seniority-wise and in every other respect. Statistically, the black woman is the bottom of the totem pole with respect to employment and earnings. She earns less than white men, white women, and black men.

Black youth as a whole are acquiring more education today. Between 1970 and 1974, there has been an increase of black college enrollment of 56 percent. The desire and the need for adequate employment is apparent, with 63 percent of poor black families headed by females. The problem, then, is one of how to provide the absolutely essential needs of these women so that they, too, might begin to enjoy an easing off, "an erosin" of their own problems and poverty, as did many black males and the general economy during the 1960's.

In order to look at the total needs, we must, indeed, consider some past failures within our educational institutions that have brought us to this point. In the professorial ranks of higher education there has been accorded lower rank and status to women. How many high prestige colleges employ and accord rank and status to Blacks or women; how many black female administrators are there; how many female department heads?

The following conclusions were drawn from this data:

1. Child care is not a major concern for either professional black women or reentry black women.

2. A significant number of black professional women were considered low achievers prior to returning to college.

3. A majority of the respondents are currently receiving psychological reinforcement from their husband or male friend.

4. College administrators and faculty members are insensitive to black reentry women's problems.

5. College administrators and faculty members appear to be racist and sexist toward reentry black women.

6. Peers and black faculty provide the greatest resource for reentry black women.

7. Counselors and white faculty provide the fewest resources for reentry black women.

8. Tutorial programs provide little if any resources for reentry black students.

The data in this research suggest that there is little understanding of the problems of black females by administrators or counselors.

The traditional degree programs in the past have been deficient and have not attracted black women. Black women have had little or no impact in engineering and the hard sciences, medicine (Farmer and Backer, 1975), except such supportive services as nursing; law (slowly changing at student level, but few judges, female firms, law professors); few administrative and supervisory degrees and credentials (even at high school principal levels); and few women in the financial sector. (p.214)

Educators, therefore, must be reeducated; and the proposed target population must be reeducated as well, both academically and attitudinally. This requires a nontraditional approach.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the findings of this study, certain recommendations for further study seem most appropriate:

1. An in-depth study should be undertaken regarding the employment opportunities of black women in the United States.

2. An in-depth study should be undertaken to analyze the employment of black women, the kind of careers they are in, their level of satisfaction and their desire for further training.

3. The major colleges and universities should study the Women's Reentry Program (Cossey, 1974), bibliography item 2, and consider implementation at their institutions.

4. Funds should be allocated immediately for application of the data reviewed in this paper in order to retrain counseling, administrative, and tutorial personnel.

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BLACK WOMEN WHO HEAD FAMILIES:

ECONOMIC NEEDS AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Isabel V. Sawhill

BLACK WOMEN WHO HEAD FAMILIES: ECONOMIC NEEDS AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Introduction

In 1975, there were an estimated five and a half million black families in the United States. Most of these families are headed by a husband and wife but almost two million of them are headed by a woman. In recent years, the number and proportion of black families headed by women has been growing. In 1965, the proportion was 24 percent; by 1970, it was 28 percent, and by 1975 it had reached 35 percent (Current Population Reports, P-23, No. 54, 1975).

Thus, black women bear a heavy burden of family responsibilities. Yet their economic position is marginal relative to other groups in American society. It is this fundamental imbalance between economic needs and economic resources which poses the greatest challenge to public policy.

This paper will examine some aspects of this imbalance. It begins by briefly describing the demographic and economic factors associated with the recent growth in single-parent families within the black community. It than looks at the economic problems facing these families and at the role which education might play in improving their generally precarious economic position.

Sources of Growth

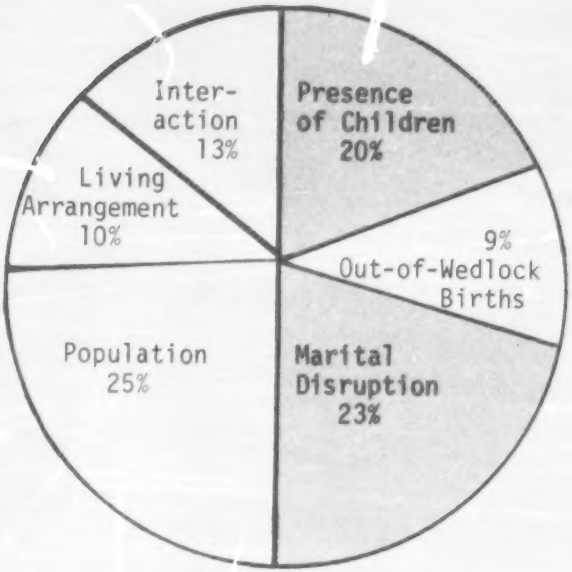
An analysis of Census data for 1960 and 1970 has enabled us to sort out some of the demographic factors which have contributed to the recent growth of black (strictly speaking, nonwhite) female-headed families. The results of this analysis are summarized in Figure 1. (The figure also includes a parallel breakdown of the components of growth of white female-headed families. However, we will not discuss this additional set of results here. A more detailed treatment of these issues is provided in Ross and Sawhill, 1975).

The total increase of 392,000 non-white female-headed families with children between 1960 and 1970 can be disaggregated into the following components:

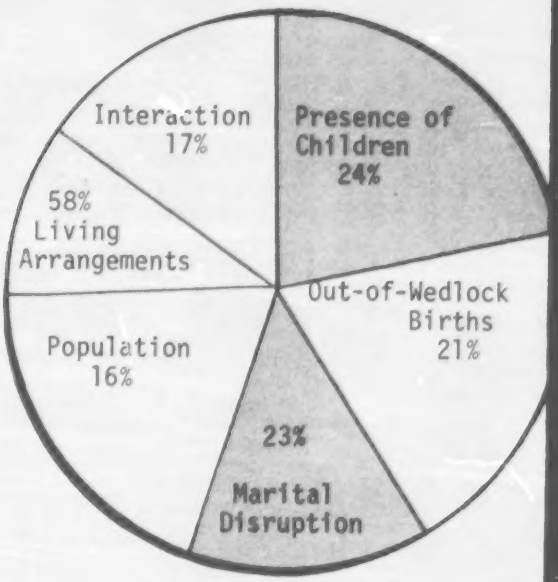
> 16 percent was the result of population growth and would have occurred even in the absence of any changes in household behavior.
>
> 8 percent was the result of a decline in extended family living arrangements - that is, an increasing tendency for mothers with children to head their own independent households.

COMPONENTS OF GROWTH
IN FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

1960-1970



WHITE
700,000 INCREASE



NONWHITE
392,000 INCREASE

Figure 1

Source: Ross and Sawhill (1975)

39 percent was associated with a rise in the proportion of black women who are widowed, divorced, or separated (but especially the latter) and who have dependent children in their care. The increase in the frequency with which formerly married women have young children is related to the rising importance of separation relative to widowhood, the younger ages at which martial instability is occurring, declining childlessness in the population, and perhaps an increasing tendency for mothers to raise their own children rather than placing them with relatives.

21 percent was associated with an increase in the proportion of single (never married) women who have dependent children.

17 percent is the result of an interaction between one or more of the above factors.

This analysis indicates that it is the increasing proportion of women who are separated and have young children to care for which is the major cause of recent female-headed family growth. Either women are separating from their husbands in greater numbers, remarrying more slowly, misreporting their "true" martial status more frequently or are more likely to have parental responsibilities once their marriage ends. Our research suggests that each of these has probably been a factor in explaining recent trends.

In an examination of the marital behavior of about 2,000 husband-wife families, we found that separation rates are associated with urban living, with male unemployment, and with early marriage and early child-bearing. We have speculated, then, that the continued urbanization of the black population, very high rates of unemployment and underemployment among young black men, and a tendency for women to marry or bear children at increasingly younger ages in the recent past have contributed to rising marital instability. (Ross and Sawhill, 1975).

In a separate analysis of the marriage and remarriage rates of women heading families, we found that these rates are affected not only by a women's age, income, and other factors but also by the categorical availability of public assistance. Because most welfare benefits are not available to husband-wife families, an incentive exists for low-income women to maintain either the fiction or the reality of being unmarried and our research indicates that these perverse economic incentives are influencing reported marriage and remarriage rates among female-headed families. (Sawhill et. al., 1975). Thus, even had there been no change in marital instability, the inhibiting influence of rising welfare benefit levels on (re)marriage rates may partially explain the rising proportion of women which the Census reports as separated (or single) rather than married.

The policy implications of this analysis are threefold. First, income maintenance programs as currently constituted discriminate against married households. Poverty is no less real where there are two parents living

together than where there is only one. What is needed is welfare reform which would provide income supplements to all low-income families, not just those headed by women. Second, the high rate of unemployment among young black men is clearly affecting their ability to form and maintain stable family ties. Stable and reasonably well-paid jobs continue to be a major pre-requisite to stable family life. Third, greater appreciation of the risks associated with early marriage and childbearing could help to reduce marital instability and economic dependency. Adolescents need to be educated on the nature of these risks and provided with the knowledge and opportunity to make a different set of choices.

It is unlikely, however, that any new set of policy initiatives is going to arrest the growth of female-headed families in the near future. This growth is not just a minority phenomenon. It is occurring among all segments of the population and appears to be related to fundamental shifts in attitudes toward marriage and to the changing social and economic status of women as well as to some of the factors mentioned above. The issue is whether women can cope with these new responsibilities given their limited economic resources. As we shall see in the next section, black women are in an especially vulnerable position.

The Economic Status of Black Women Who Head Families

Census data show that, in 1974, the median income of black female-headed families was $ 4,465 and that 53 percent of these families were poor (Current Population Reports, P23, No. 54, 1975). By way of contrast, the percent of households living in poverty was 25 percent for white families headed by women, 14 percent for black families headed by men and 5 percent for white families headed by men.

There are a number of factors which could be contributing to the poverty and low income of black female-headed families including employment status of the head, education, work experience, and discrimination based on race and sex. A review of some data in each of these areas should contribute to a better understanding of why these families are disproportionately poor and how government policy can best meet the needs of this group. Accordingly, some information is assembled here about the economic status of these families. The data are previously unpublished tabulations from the University of Michigan's Panel Study of Income Dynamics and cover a national sample of 374 nonwhite (predominantly black) mothers under age 55 who headed their own families in 1968.

Employment

The major source of income for most family heads is paid work. However, it is well-known that women who head families are less likely to be working than men who head families and many rely on public assistance as either a primary or supplementary source of income. Among our 1968

sample of black single-parent families, almost half were working although some of these employed women had some AFDC income as well. Overall, about two-fifths of the sample was receiving some public assistance as indicated in Table 1. Most surprising was the large proportion of women (27%) who were neither employed nor receiving AFDC.

TABLE 1
Employment and AFDC Status (in 1967) Among Nonwhite Mothers Heading Families in 1968

	Employed	Not Employed	Total
Not receiving AFDC	129 (34%)	101 (27%)	230 (61%)
Receiving AFDC	52 (14%)	92 (25%)	144 (39%)
Total	181 (48%)	193 (52%)	374 (100%)

Source: Panel Study of Income Dynamics.

Some of these women may not have been heading their own families in 1967 and may have been unmarried daughters or wives in other households. Others may have been living on savings, gifts or informal transfers from relatives or friends.

One obvious explanation for nonemployment among women who head their own households is family responsibilities. Among the AFDC group in our sample, however, the employed mothers had slightly more children on the average (4.4) than the nonemployed mothers (4.2), suggesting that the presence of children may not be the major factor inhibiting labor force participation. Rather the problem may lie in the labor market where a lack of job opportunities and low wages make employment a poor choice in comparison to going on welfare.

To test for this latter possibility, we have estimated the potential annual earnings of each nonworking black mother on AFDC based on her age, education, family background, and job experience. We then compared potential full-time earnings to actual AFDC income. More than one-half of these women were actually receiving more from welfare than they could have received if they had gone to work full-time (assuming a 100 percent welfare benefit loss rate with increased earnings). Only 16 percent could have increased their income by as much as $1,000 a year by entering the labor force. If, on the other hand, these black women had been able to earn as much as black men with similar characteristics, 42 percent of them would have been able to increase their incomes by $1,000 or more and undoubtedly many more would have been working. These data suggest, then,

that it is the structure of the labor market itself rather than factors on the supply side which are responsible for the welfare dependency of many female-headed families. We turn now to an analysis of the earnings of the group who were employed in 1967.

Earnings

Among the 181 nonwhite mothers in our sample who were employed, average hourly earnings, were only $1.74 in 1967 (or $3,480 for a full year of work). This compares to $2.64 for white female heads, $2.66 for black male heads and $3.87 for white male heads (Table 2).

Previous research on earnings disparities by race and sex has suggested that black males are handicapped by a lack of education and that white females are handicapped by a lack of labor market experience. One might suppose that black females suffer from both these handicaps but this is only partially true. Black women tend to be better educated than black men (although less well-educated than white women) and more experienced than white women (although less experienced than black men).

An education and experience profile of our sample of family heads broken down by race and sex is presented in Table 2. In terms of educational attainment, the groups rank as follows: white females, white males, nonwhite females, nonwhite males.

The data on experience measure time spent on current job than time spent in the labor force. Information on the latter would clearly have been desirable but was not available. The job tenure profiles do not vary much by race within each sex category but men clearly have more years of experience, on the average, than women.

To what extent are the relatively low earnings of black women the result of a lack of education? To answer this question, I have calculated the hypothetical earnings of black women assuming they had the same educational distribution as white females (the best-educated group). This calculation increased their expected earnings by $.30 per hour and reduced the earnings differential between black and white women by one-third.

Equalizing the job experience of black women and white men (the most experienced group) increased expected earnings by only $.07 and reduced the earnings differential between the two groups by an insignificant amount. In general, these data suggest that black women would gain much more from an equalization of earnings within education or experience categories than they would from acquiring more education or experience.

The observed earnings differentials within education and experience categories may reflect differences in the quality of education, differences in physical strength, health status, or other unmeasured characteristics. To some extent, however, they represent the persistent effects of discrimination by race and sex which has tended to confine black women to the lowest paid jobs in the economy.

TABLE 2

Family Heads Under 55 In 1968

	Nonwhite Female		Nonwhite Male		White Female		White Male	
Mean Hourly Earnings	$1.74		$2.66		$2.64		$3.87	
Sample Size	181		423		66		860	
	Earnings	Percent* Distribution	Earnings	Percent* Distribution	Earnings	Percent* Distribution	Earnings	Percent* Distribution
Age								
25	1.14	4.7	2.47	5.0	1.30	7.1	2.51	8.2
25-34	2.00	30.7	2.54	31.1	2.65	29.1	3.41	29.7
35-44	1.75	41.5	2.92	42.3	2.57	39.8	4.26	41.8
45-54	1.49	23.1	2.38	21.6	3.14	24.1	4.31	20.3
Education								
8	1.14	17.1	2.15	34.7	1.62	10.1	2.94	15.2
9-11	1.47	38.6	2.39	27.8	1.79	15.3	3.17	17.4
12	1.40	20.4	2.97	18.0	1.92	30.1	3.73	22.0
12+	2.88	23.9	3.68	19.5	3.65	44.5	4.52	45.4
Experience								
6 months	1.37	19.8	1.98	8.9	2.19	14.6	3.02	7.9
7-18 months	1.24	24.5	2.54	11.3	2.08	22.7	3.16	10.8
19-38 months	2.42	22.9	2.28	22.0	2.29	21.7	3.45	19.5
4-9 years	1.58	18.3	2.99	23.0	3.36	25.4	3.90	23.7
10-19 years	2.26	13.8	2.90	28.6	4.00	9.8	4.30	26.6
20+ years	1.03	0.7	2.88	6.2	1.87	5.8	4.81	11.5

*Weighted
Source: Panel Study of Income Dynamics

The question often arises as to whether black women suffer more from discrimination based on race or from discrimination based on sex. Here, again, these data provide a partial answer. After controlling for education, the earnings differential between black males and black females is much larger than the differential between black females and white females. This finding is consistent with other studies which have suggested that the economic status of black women is affected more by their sex than by their race (Almquist, 1975).

Since the above analysis is based on some simple tabulations for a relatively small sample of family heads in 1968, it would be a mistake to generalize too broadly from these observations. In fact, there is evidence from other research that black women as a whole (and perhaps the subgroup who are family heads as well) have made some significant economic gains in recent years and that some of these gains are related to improvements in education. In the next section, this additional evidence is reviewed.

Changes in Education and Earnings Between 1960 and 1970

Using Census data, Joan Haworth (1975) has analyzed trends in the earnings of women over the decade of the sixties. She found that nonwhite women made larger income gains over this period than white women and that the principal reason for their relative gains was an increase in educational attainment. Most of these gains were due to the improved educational position of the youngest age group and the retirement from the work force of older women who are the most disadvantaged educationally. However, for those age groups who were in the labor force both years, there was a marked improvement in the rate at which education paid off in the form of higher earnings relative to similar pay-offs experienced by white women.

What Haworth's research suggests is that major gains in the status of minority women are contingent upon inter-generational shifts in "human capital" and that continued attention to early environmental influences, especially education, do pay off over the longer run. Also, changing attitudes, civil rights activity, affirmative action, and the like appear to have really had some impact on the ability of black women to translate a given level of education into rewards in the job market. I suspect this has occurred as the result of occupational upgrading - the movement of black women out of domestic service and other menial jobs into white collar occupations. In fact, between 1965 and 1975, the proportion of black women employed in private household work declined from 30% to 10% while the proportion employed in clerical work increased from 13% to 24% (Employment and Earnings).

As stated thus far, these appear to be rather optimistic conclusions. It seems that education "works"; affirmative action "works"; attitudes are changing. The pessimistic side of the story becomes apparent when one remembers that the earnings of black women are being compared to the earnings of white women, and that the latter have experienced the slowest rate of economic progress of any race-sex group. So it may be that the gains of black women look so favorable not because their absolute gains

have been large but because these gains are being compared to the miniscule gains of white women. Casual observation suggests to me that black women are moving into precisely those occupational ghettos which white women have been trying to escape for so long.

Haworth shows that by 1970, younger, better-educated black women earned more than their white counterparts, although there were still large earnings disparities among older women with little education. After adjusting for earnings-related characteristics, the earnings ratio for the entire group was equal to .94 in 1970, as compared to .87 before adjustments. Virtually all of the difference between the adjusted and unadjusted ratios is due to education. This means that about half the current earnings differential could be eliminated by measured designed to improve the education of nonwhite women. However, clearly the women most in need of more education are not the young women just coming into the job market but the older cohorts who have already spent many years in the labor force. From a policy perspective, this means either 1) developing adult education and training programs, or 2) patiently waiting for inter-generational gains to occur. I'm not sure that the former is really feasible or cost-effective, but the latter comes dangerously close to a "do-nothing" policy. Let me suggest that the sensible response might entail providing some relatively generous income transfers to older, uneducated black women to compensate them in part for their current economic plight and a long history of discrimination. I have in mind something like SSI but extending down the age range to cover indigent couples or individuals who are too old to qualify for AFDC and too young to qualify for SSI benefits. I am not suggesting that we make these benefits race or sex specific, but clearly they would have the greatest impact on women generally and on black women in particular. Currently, people between the ages of about 45 and 65 are not eligible for income transfers no matter how poor they may be.

Conclusions

Black women bear an enormous burden of family responsibilities. They have the greatest needs and the fewest resources. When can educational policy help to close the gap?

Education can help young women to prepare for these responsibilities. Especially critical are counselling and vocational education which encourage women to enter higher-paying (traditionally male) occupations. Research needs to address the extent to which black women are currently being channeled into lower-paying service and white collar jobs.

Education can also help younger women to make wiser decisions about the timing of marriage and childbearing. More research on the economic and social consequences of early childbearing (including constrained educational opportunities) - both for children and for their parents - and more dissemination of this information might impact the choices which young

people make in these areas. Coupled with greater sophistication about family planning and better economic and social opportunities for black women generally, this information could delay the timing of childbearing to better coincide with one or both parents' ability to provide maximum economic opportunities for their children.

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POLICY ISSUES ON DAY CARE:
THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF BLACK WORKING WOMEN
A CASE STUDY FROM THE NEW YORK CITY
AGENCY FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT'S PARENT POPULATION

Betti S. Whaley

and

Toye B. Lewis, Ph.D.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS FACING BLACK WOMEN: DAY CARE POLICY ISSUES

I. INTRODUCTION

The Current Socio-Political Context

The fact that 43 percent of the total female population 16 years and over is in the labor force clearly establishes the point that the women's place is in the labor force as well as in the home.[1] For black women, this fact has been historically true and is much a fact of life today as it was during two centuries of slavery.

The changing structure and function of the American family at this stage in this nation's economic development is placing new and greater demands on the mother. For the black family, this means that over 35 percent of the households are headed by a female on the national average and in communities where many of our parents reside that figure is much higher.[2] This national percentage represents a 10 percent increase in female-headed households in the decade since 1965.

Sar Levitan and colleagues have observed that most mothers work because of sheer economic necessity and without their employment of a larger number of families would be poor in this country.[3] This statement is an even more profound reflection of the condition of black families.

This realization regarding the necessity for working among American women today suggests the national need for an adequate system of social service needs. It is this issue which impacts the greatest on my topic: Day Care Policy Issues and Special Problems Facing Black Women.

The following remarks must be prefaced by two important precautions:

1. The special problems of black women are a reflection of problems of American women generally and are greatly compounded by racial and social class considerations. Additionally, there is a growing number of black middle class females who although not as severely affected by the economic constraints, are negatively affected by the imbalance of black males and the conditions of isolation and alienation suffered by middle class women generally.

Secondly, if we hope to provide adequate child care services to families which need them we must view child care policy development in terms of the larger economic realities. The current fiscal crisis of the nation is causing a severe crisis in day care nationally and in New York City especially. This crisis is manifested in the fact that:

1) The supply of quality child care is grossly inadequate to meet rising demand by families with children.[4]

2) Demand for child care in recent years has been created primarily from: (a) the need for women to work to supplement or totally assume financial support of the family and (b) early developmental needs of all children in contemporary society.

This crisis in day care has developed primarily because in the face of economic depression, there is growing tension between those forces in the policy arena responsible and concerned about sound fiscal management of the public budget and those forces advocating sound program development for people. Those advocates of program development are insisting that the available supply of day care opportunities be critically analyzed and assessed in terms of meeting needs of families and children with quality services as defined by the child care profession. The budget managers are insisting on priority-setting and suggesting that child care remain a low priority of the government. Child care is a low priority for this group because public policy on families has not yet been publicly accepted as an important governmental concern and the care of children is still seen basically as the primary responsibility of women.

The special problems of black females in the labor force with children needing day care services can be virtually demonstrated by a review of the current program and growing crisis in program delivery within New York City's Agency for Child Development.

II. THE AGENCY FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY

As stated above, day care is under attack by the policymakers and budget managers at all levels of government. In New York City, day care is the victim of the most severe fiscal crisis of the last forty years. Nationally, it is the victim of the present callous disregard for the undeniable needs of children and their families by the Administration and by the Congress which is stalling on passage of an adequate Child & Family Services Act.[5]

Historically, day care priorities on the local level have focused simultaneously on the need for both expanded and broader based services. Our immediate goal in New York City, however, has become fiscal survival of the few inadequate services currently available. Redefining priorities is the urgent mandate.

The New York City Agency for Child Development views the services it administers to almost 53,000 children as a comprehensive service. The Agency serves these children through more than 400 publicly-funded group day care centers, 110 Head Start centers and nearly 2,000 licensed family day care provider homes.

ACD's services to parents, for the most part, means services to women. Seventy percent of our parent population is single and the head of a household virtually all of these women must work. Nearly two-thirds of these families are Black. Increasingly we are learning that a comprehensive child care program means we must attempt to meet the needs of this adult population as an integral part of the services offered.

In examining these goals of public day care policy, our experiences in New York have revealed that there are three basic and critical issues currently confronting public policy for the care of young children. They are: 1) The question of eligibility (What families will be served;) 2) The requirement that long-term day care be developmental in nature; and 3) Consideration of the role of adults in day care programs.

The Goals of Publicly-Funded Day Care

1. Eligibility

Regulations affecting day care have always been oriented to the needs of working parents. However, New York State standards and rates have been predicated as six hours of care, thereby immediately neglecting the pro-type working parent who normally needs a minimum of 10 hours of care to allow for transporting the child to and from the center.

If we are to deal with differential need for services, we know that not all children need full day care five days a week and may require care at times other than the normal work day.

Clearly, publicly-assisted day care has been foremost a service for working parents; thereby, an important service for the population under examination in this conference. Unfortunately, this tradition is under attack at the very time when progress was being made on improving day care so that it would be more than merely custodial for the child.

In New York State, for instance, the implementation of Title XX of the Social Security Act which took effect on October 1, 1975 threatens the continuation of this service. Day care as a service for many adult women in the labor force is about to be terminated.

Although Title XX gives states the opportunity to be reimbursed for services to families with income of up to 115% of that state's median income, few are choosing the upper limit. New York State has elected to apply 90% of the state's median income to the family of two, and 80% to larger families. In many instances, fees are also imposed. This means that the most upwardly mobile families are being squeezed out of eligibility for day care. ACD, which was established with a mission of advocacy on behalf of the needs of all children and families, is now

forced to direct an unprecedented portion of its advocate capability to the needs of families who were formerly able to take the availability of day care for granted.

If publicly-funded day care is to be an effective public service, it must provide two important opportunities: 1) It must be a developmental program for children, and 2) It must ensure the opportunity for meaningful work and career development for parents. These day care policy ideals can only be realized through eligibility requirements which allow adequate provision of services to those who need them. This means that day care must be available to all those children who are dependent upon public service for this opportunity. It must also be an available and affordable service to the increasing number of working parents.

2. Developmental Day Care & Children

It has become a widely accepted thesis in the educational and social science fields that children generally benefit from comprehensive educational service programs at early ages.[6] It has been further demonstrated through a decade of experimentation under Project Head Start that the disadvantaged child both benefits and is especially in need of such services. In urban areas, that disadvantaged child is often a black child.

The institutional assault on the black child extends from the moment of birth to adulthood. In the first year of life, the black child is twice as likely to die as the white child.[7] Forty thousand black children are without permament homes.

More than one-third of all black families with children under age 18 have incomes below or at the poverty level, contrasted to 8% for white families.[8] Among children under 6 who are either on AFDC or are the children of working parents, evidence indicates that one and a half million are at risk, in"arrangements unknown."[9, 10]

Day care can help mitigate this societal assault on the disadvantaged child if day care systems are designed to offer comprehensive services to families.

Since the late 19th Century developmental care has been advocated and extensively utilized by middle income families as a necessary socialization mechanism for their children.[11] Thus, developmental care for young children holds no racial or social class restrictions. This history also suggests that publicly-assisted day care should not be relegated to custodial care for children of the poorest families in either economic or racially isolated learning environments.

Developmental day care has many component parts, each essential to the success of the child's total growth. Early childhood education is one such part, and one of the most important. Day Care has a major responsibility for the educational "head start" that is critically

important to those children who are most seriously impacted by stress whether the environment is rural or urban.

Other aspects of early childhood education are equally important. The learning tools we use must be investigated with care. Books for children too often reaffirm racist stereotypes. The "Bobbsey Twins" series is but one example. Initiated in the 1930's and despite some recent editing efforts, these books remain among the worst offenders in fostering the "mammy and pappy" view of black adult life. They also remain among the most popular with children.. In this series, Dinah and Sam, the household servants, are the only black characters. Dinah cheerfully cooks for the family all day and Sam is the chauffeur-handyman-dogsbody. They are characterized as "faithful," "good-natured," "kindly," and so forth. Mr. Bobbsey owns his own business and Mrs. Bobbsey, who spends little time with her children, does "good works" in the community. Dinah and Sam seem to leave the kitchen and servants' quarters only rarely. Recent editions of these books have attempted to play down the "master-slave" remains of a slave culture, but these and other books, widely available in libraries and schools, do little to establish a positive identity for black children that carries with it the seeds of dignity and self-worth.[12]

How many of the nation's day care programs investigate with care the books available to children? What measures of success will publicly-funded day care ever achieve if this is the image we preserve?

Quality education although important, is only one component of a developmental child care program. Emotional strength, social competence and perceptual-motor coordination in a healthy and well-nourished body are equally important. A qualified teaching staff, working under a competent director at the center level, assuredly is the foundation upon which these goals must rest. But other categories of staff are required to provide supportive services outside the classroom. For example, each of ACD's centers employs a family counselor who, in conjunction with central office social services counsultants, develops systemic linkages to broad-based community resources as well as effective referral mechanisms. Access to these services is available not only to enrolled children, but to all members of each child's family. In addition, early childhood education, health, and nutrition, and technical consultants from central office work closely with center staff to effect the broadest possible range of quality services.

In theory, this systematic "team approach" to meeting the comprehensive needs of children ought to suffice. A recent series of interviews with ACD's user parents elicited virtually unanimous agreement that it does not. These interviews revealed the need for extensive supports to parents of children in our programs. ACD sees validity in parental demand for more concentrated attention to their complex emotional and psychological needs generated by working and often serving as the family head.

On the other hand, the child development profession and our survey of user accounts has revealed that there is a critical need and growing DEMAND for developmental child care and concomitant support services for parents of these children. On the other hand, a growing fiscal crisis in social services spending threatens the feasibility of implementing a day care policy which will adequately address these goals. Title XX has reduced the Federal role in provision of social services and transferred this awesome responsibility to the states at the very time that the states can least afford to take on this responsibility. The Federal $2.5 billion ceiling on Federal appropriations for social services has negatively affected New York State because it has, in effect, placed a ceiling on the state's financial allotment for social services. In addition, local state matching sources for Federal programs has been severely affected by the fiscal crises in New York City and New York State. In fact, New York City's fiscal crisis has recently caused a budget reduction amounting to a 20 percent cut in city social services.

Developmental Care: The Imbalance of Supply to Demand

Despite our emphasis on comprehensive services, we fall far short of the mark of meeting identified need vis-a-vis enrollment. We know for a fact that more than 85,000 New York City children are eligible for Head Start. We serve little over 6,000. We estimate that, of the more than two million children in New York City between the ages of 0 and 14, some 200,000 are income-eligible for group and family day care services. We serve approximately 46,000 children in these programs. Numbers alone do not tell the full story. For income-eligible children whose parents work at night, there are no services. School-age services, the smallest part of our group day care program, reach only about 8,000 children in the entire city. The number of "latch key" children in New York far exceeds this figure. We fail to meet the multi-lingual needs of New York City's population: 35% of ACD's child enrollment comes from a family whose primary language is other than English. While 45% to 50% of our centers have some form of bilingual program component, no funds whatever are available for special services unique to the needs of this population. Nor has any money ever been allocated to group or family day care to meet the complex needs of handicapped children, although Head Start, since the 1973 Congressional mandate to include a 10% enrollment of exceptional children, has succeeded in developing some innovative service components for these children. The paradox of SSI for children stands as testimony to governmental neglect of the handicapped child. Under SSI, for the first time, income-eligible handicapped children are guaranteed an annual income. In other respects, however, the provisions of SSI affecting children are grossly inadequate: There are no diagnostic criteria for handicapping conditions specific to children, nor is there yet a suitable rehabilitation referral mechanism. In other words, SSI, and by extension, our government, does not acknowledge the established value of early intervention. By this omission, it encourages the child's reversible disability to become the adult's irreversible handicap. ACD has been

working closely with appropriate government officials and legislators to remedy this oversight and to extend full protection to the handicapped child.

The comprehensive needs of children and their families will never be met without both greatly increased funding and a national commitment to full support of the family unit. At present, that commitment is farther away than ever. In New York City, its absence has disastrous effects: We have been required to consolidate services in 28 day care centers, revise staffing patterns and enforce economies as a result of our $29 million budget reduction (out of a total budget for Fiscal Year 1975-1976 of $159 million;) we are forced to terminate services to an estimated 4,000 children whose families' incomes exceed that which is now allowable under Title XX, and we face the prospect of further cuts during the next several years.

III. THE BLACK WOMAN

The National Scene

The current rate of working mothers is higher among black families than among white. Fifty-six percent of all black women are employed compared to 40 percent of white women. Of the 56 percent figure, 44 percent are married with young children compared to 27 percent white women in the same category.[13] Black women have always worked in greater proportions at all stages of the family life cycle.[14] In fact, Anne Young of the Labor Department reports that historically there has been a much higher proportion of black than white children whose mothers go out to work.[15]

The overall growth rate of female-headed families with children has been accelerating in recent years. Whether white or Black, income in families that women head is much lower than income among families headed by men.[16] The rate of female-headed households among black families has increased 10 percent in the past 10 years. This increase also means that more children are in poor families. Gabriel Kolko observed in his book, Wealth and Power in America, that a major element contributing to the growth of low income classes has been the increase in female-headed households. Figures from the U.S. Department of Labor substantiate Kolko's observation as they reveal that in 1970, 33 percent of all families headed by a woman lived in poverty; many other such families had incomes barely above the poverty level.

Black women, like most women, seek work today because of economic necessity.

Education: Contrary to popular belief that black women are more educated than black men, at the beginning of this decade, a higher percentage of black males had completed 4 years of high school than black females. In addition, the percentage of black females in colleges is now less than that of black males for the first time in history.

Income: The median national income for all families in 1974 was $14,836; the median income for all black families was $7,808. But the median income of the family headed by a black woman was only $4,465.[17]

There exists in the U.S. a disproportionately large number of black women in so-called multi-worker families. In fact, one of the fallacies of recent statistics on the rise of income in the black family has been reflected by computing the salaries of both the husband and wife in the black family to come up with a middle-income standard comparable to the white family where only the male is employed. In many instances, the black family has been able to reach the middle-income standard of living only through the wife's employment.

Esther Peterson wrote in The Woman in America, a few years back that "Negro women, who constitute the largest minority in the U.S., are also the lowest paid and the most disadvantaged group in the labor force."[18]

In addition to the fact that black women are increasingly assuming partial or the entire burden of bread-winner of the family, they still face the problems of job discrimination and lower wages than men due to both sex and racial discrimination.

Black women tend to be employed in low-paying, low-status jobs. Often both their work responsibilities and pay are much lower than their knowledge and educational skills.[19] In addition, these jobs offer few fringe benefits that aid the working mother in self-development or relate to the developmental needs of her children. Similar conditions prevail with jobs in the public sector.

In the 1960's, the President's Commission on the Status of Women found that even in Federal service, women were employed in the lowest grades. The Commission also found that the status of female employment at the state and municipal levels took on a similar pattern. The Day Care Council of New York in 1972 found severe discrimination in working conditions for women in the municipal occupations. In addition, the American Labor movement has had less impact upon the working conditions among black women because these women are concentrated in the disadvantaged class of workers, the group less effectively organized and represented by the labor movement generally.

The changing structure and function of the American family has introduced the need for a change in rationale for public child care policy. This nation can no longer, in good conscience, expect the family with a female head who is working full-time to financially support herself and her children, to assume full responsibility for the complex developmental needs of her children, and to satisfy her own requirements for self-actualization. It is also important that it be stressed that this is not a problem unique to black families.

There is a pressing human development mandate to focus public attention on the needs of working mothers and this attention must be formalized into new policies by the government, private social services sector, business, industry and labor unions. These new policies must contain objectives which parallel those identified earlier in this paper, i.e., provision of comprehensive social and educational services for working women, and comprehensive developmental services for their children while they are away from the home.

The increasingly high cost of quality day care and the ever-growing number of women who seek to join the labor force make clear that, for the foreseeable future, the public dollar alone will not suffice. Although the concept of day care as an employee benefit is in its infancy, it is the increasing focus of public attention. Industry is slowly beginning to respond to studies[20] which show that employer-sponsored day care is an important factor in recruiting and retaining personnel in women-intensive industries.

Unions also show signs of awakening to the unmet need that surrounds us. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for example, has opened five child health care stations in and around Baltimore and has opened a demonstration day care center in Chicago. It is to be hoped that other unions, the other areas of the country, will follow suit, particularly since women-intensive industries will, themselves, be the beneficiaries. The Agency for Child Development has recently submitted a proposal for funding through Title IV-B of the Social Security Act to acquire research and demonstration monies to allow us to assess the feasibility of employer-subsidized child care in New York City.

The possibility of harnessing private commercial funds to develop new and innovative delivery systems is as necessary as it is intriguing. In addition, it is important to acknowledge the tremendous economic spin-off of day care services to industries which produce and merchandise educational hardware, to construction and maintenance firms, for food and other vendors, and to transportation and other allied services. The degree to which these services can also be harnessed to both support and service the day care community should not be minimized.

New York City

Any meaningful discussion of publicly-funded day care in New York City must take into account the employment status of women in this area. Publicly-funded day care is, at present, available only to low-income families. In New York City, 92% of our user parents are either employed, looking for work or enrolled in training programs to develop employable skills; 65% of our user parents are actually in the labor force.

The majority of the families served by ACD are headed by a single black woman. Naturally, the economic and social needs of this population

constitute the focal point of ACD's comprehensive services and policies. But these needs are representative of a far larger group than black women in New York City alone.

The supply of day care services in New York is grossly inadequate to meet demand. A survey conducted in November, 1975 of a representative number of parents of children enrolled in ACD's programs gives a clear picture of unmet needs, parental aspirations for their children and themselves, and the impact of day care on family life. By "representative" we mean an overall adult user population that is approximately 60% Black, 30% Spanish-speaking and 10% Asian, white and other.

One hundred and thirty-four respondents were interviewed in approximately 10 groups. The respondents represented 284 children using preschool and school-age services. Of the respondents, 72% were employed; 42% were married, 58% were single. The ethnic composition was reflective of the parents served in the total program: 41% Black, 7.5 white, 12% Spanish-speaking, 8% Oriental. Of the special significance was the fact that 30% did not indicate an ethnic identification. On income, most respondents clustered from $5,000 to $9,000 per year.

The survey highlighted the following findings:

1. Most of the parents interviewed expressed grave concern about the inadequate number of school-age programs for older children. Professional supervision was viewed as both an essential service and an alternative to drug addiction, delinquency and other anti-social behavior. A need for nighttime services was consistently expressed.

Virtually all parents (about 90%) felt that a full-time staff member whose sole purpose would be to provide in-depth psychological counseling should be added to the center's staff. At present ACD's family counselors are required to devote approximately 80% of their time to matters relating to eligibility determination rather than to individual and family counseling.

Housing: Twenty-five percent of the parents viewed better housing as a major need. This statistic reflects the number of ACD families residing in housing projects rather than non-rehabilitated ghetto areas.

Education: Of the 65% of employed parents who use ACD's services, 40% expressed a strong desire to return to school or enter job training programs. Most employed parents were found to hold office, blue collar or factory jobs; few were satisfied with their employment. Nearly 100% expressed the desire to have their children attend college and enter the professions.

Relations with other Adults: Married parents, who made up 42% of the interviewed group and 30% of ACD's entire adult population, stated that their relations with each other showed marked improvement as a result

of their children entering day care. Single parents, who made up 51% of the group and represent 70% of ACD's adult population, virtually all of whom are female heads of households, agreed that their peer relations had also shown marked improvement since their children entered day care.

Sibling Relations: A substantial percentage of parents pointed out that the learning and developmental experiences of younger children enrolled in day care had a positive spin-off on older brothers and sisters. It was felt that the social advancement of pre-schoolers in day care programs far exceeds that of older children who have never experienced day care, largely because of the psychological guidance they received in the programs.

Community Involvement: A majority of parents stated that involvement in center-related activities had increased their involvement in the communities in which they live. There was universal agreement that initial participation in center parent committees had led to much broader involvement in community, political, social and religious organizations.

Future Participation in Day Care: Parents viewed professional child care as a means of self-development and advancement as well as a service to their children. For the many parents who have returned to school for high school equivalency diplomas and/or college credit and subsequently found employment, there is a tendancy to advance professionally. Day Care has made that advancement possible. Approximately 10% of parents interviewed are nearing the allowable income limits mandated by Title XX for their families. These parents are aware that another step up the career ladder which day care originally helped them climb will render them ineligible for continued service. They view as regressive eligibility standards which give them the choice between refusing future salary increases in order to keep their children in day care or accepting pay raises and withdrawing from the program.

The results of this study place the employment and other problems of the day care parent, and particularly the black woman, in the specific context of day care. Day care's ills become the ills of the black women. The inadequate number of available slots deprive her children of needed services. The stringent eligibility requirements for publicly-funded day care contravene the practice of upward mobility. Fiscal restraints affecting the increasingly costly operation of comprehensive day care programs threaten to turn developmental services into little more than a custodial service for low-income children, with no emphasis on total family involvement. These factors conspire to keep the black woman in her historically disadvantaged position in terms of employment, education and social mobility.

IV. FUTURE TRENDS IN DAY CARE

The portrait of the ACD user parent may well be common to urban day care users across the nation. The needs and the inadequate response to them necessitated by insufficient funding are not unique to New York City, or to urban areas.

What this nation requires is a commitment to preserve and strengthen the family unit. If we had such commitment, parents and children alike would have access to comprehensive services through day care. The upwardly mobile family would not be penalized. We would have fewer "latch key" children. The social development of pre-school children would be fostered.

Instead, black women and other minority groups remain the victims of an institutional assault from infancy to adulthood. The most progressive child feeding legislation we have thus far gotten through the Congress was vetoed by the President and subsequently overridden. Child abuse has become epidemic in this country and teenage alcoholism is on the increase. There is an alarming trend toward the illegal suspension of minority children, mostly Black, from America's public schools.

A national commitment to the needs of children and their families would lead to the development of a family impact statement similar to the environmental impact statement. For years, through the voices of those heard we saw the damage we were doing to our air, and our water cried out to government for a halt to the devastation of our resources. As a result, we now have Federal protection of those resources and every Federal proposal is scrutinized to ensure that protection. Similarly, a family impact statement, the precursor to a national family policy, would acknowledge the real needs of children and families. We would at least be able to take for granted the availability of funds for day care and comprehensive child development programs. Agencies on the local and national levels would develop mutually supportive policies and programs. Models for day care and services to families could be developed on an experimental basis and applied to existing services. All children would be the focus of concerted and sophisticated attention. They would receive, finally, the kind of comprehensive services that are essential if the maximum human potential of each and every American is to be realized.

There have been some efforts in this direction. Those that have succeeded have done so against overwhelming odds. The recently passed child nutrition law, which ACD worked hard to develop and pass, is one such example. The Child and Family Services Act of 1975, not yet voted on by Congress, is, despite its flaws, a vital step toward the development of a comprehensive family policy. This bill sponsored by Senator Mondale and Representative Brademas acknowledges the inseparability of the child and the family and makes provisions for the delivery of services accordingly. Most importantly, it lays the groundwork for a national commitment to children and families.

We already know the disastrous consequences of our neglect. Failure to act on this knowledge will continue as long as children remain a low priority on the nation's agenda, as long as program expansion for human development is sacrificed to fiscal management. This sacrifice is being made largely to balance the national budget by reducing social spending to increase defense spending.

We must ask: What good is it to push for security of a nation from external forces when the nation's domestic policies have failed its people so miserably that the society faces destruction from within by a growing element of the population which has suffered neglect, abuse and exploitation from childhood on?

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Policy Issues: Day Care

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HEALTH ISSUES FACING BLACK WOMEN

Inez Smith Reid

Case 2, CB #237589: This 24 year-old female was admitted 9/21/69 with an 18 month history of rectal pain on defecation, rectal bleeding, 26 lb. weight loss and general weakness. She admitted heavy alcoholic intake and liberal cigarette use. There was no relevant family history and no allergies. She had been treated for pulmonary tuberculosis for three years P.T.A., with streptomycin and INH, and was still on the latter at the time of admission. Physical examination revealed a thin, pale, malnourished and lethargic patient with a polypoid rectal mass, about 7.5 cm. from the anal verge. No other physical abnormalities were found. Sigmoidoscopy revealed a stenosing lesion in the rectum that on biopsy proved to be a mucin-producing adenocarcinoma. At surgery, extensive metastases to the omentum, bowel, peritoneum and bladder were noted, but the liver was free. A sigmoid colostomy was performed 9/26/69 and the patient was returned to surgery 10/29/69 for relief of small bowel obstruction. In the immediate post-operative period the patient suffered circulatory collapse and died after 39 days in the hospital.[1]

The above case, one out of many seen at Howard University's Freedman's Hospital, illustrates the poignant and neglected state of concern for the health of black women and men in general in the United States, and economically poor Black men and women in particular. How is it possible that a young woman, 24 years of age, could be inflicted with so many physical and social diseases: alcoholism, malnutrition, tuberculosis, rectal lesion - and be taken in death at age 24?

That this young woman and others like her can expire at such a tender age may well be traceable to this country's too often nonchalant, unfeeling, experimental, defeatist and miserably malfocused attitude toward health care for Americans in general and health care for Blacks, especially those economically poor, in particular. My effort in this paper will be to highlight some of the more critical health problems which grip the black community, seriously affecting the lives of black women and black men. In that connection, my interest is mainly on the black woman, but it is impossible to discuss her health picture in isolation for she breathes and moves, not in isolation, but in concert with the sway of the total black community.

IS CANCER OUT OF CONTROL IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

While the nation focused huge doses of attention on sickle cell anemia and mounted piles of amunition to at least neutralize if not demolish the killer potential of this disease which accounts for relatively

few deaths in the black population, Blacks were dropping like flies from death by cancer. By 1972 and 1973 research on cancer statistics unmasked cancer as a formidable foe - one snuffing out the lives of black people by the thousands. A group of doctors and scientists began to compare cancer deaths among the Black population with those of the white population. Their results were startling, to say the least.[2] While they were not the first to call attention to the higher cancer mortality rates for Blacks (than whites), they appeared to be the first to demonstrate the total magnitude of the problem. That is, earlier studies had touched on cancer of specific organs, in isolation, for example - the esophagus, stomach, pancrease, and prostate.[3]

The 1972-1973 studies, however, clearly disclosed the scope of the problem: Blacks were dying of most forms of cancer much faster than whites; in fact, cancer rates among Blacks were increasing steadily and strikingly. As the doctors and scientists wrote:

> We found that from 1949 until 1967, the average yearly increase in the number of deaths from all cancers was 2.0 times higher for the total black than the total white U.S. population (5.0% vs. 2.5%), 1.7 times higher for black females than for white females (3.2% vs. 1.9%) and 2.3 times higher for black males than for white males (7.1% vs. 3.1%). Of the 24 most frequent U.S. cancers studied, 18 showed a more rapid increase of the cancer deaths in Blacks than in whites.[4]

The struggle to curb cancer among Blacks between the years 1950-1967 obviously was being lost:

> ...(F)rom 1950-1967, the age adjusted cancer mortality rate for both sexes increased by 20% in Blacks while it remained unchanged in whites. The cancer mortality rate for females decreased in both races, but the decrease of 3% for black females was much less than in white females, for whom the cancer mortality rate declined by 9%. For males, the cancer mortality rate increased by 50% in Blacks, while it increased in whites by only 16%.
>
> The cancer calculation for each particular year shows that the cancer mortality for both sexes was 2% lower in 1950, but 18% higher in 1967 for Blacks than for whites. For black females, it was 5% higher in 1950 and 13% higher in 1967 than for white females. For black males, it was 7% lower in 1950 but 21% higher in 1967 than for white males.[5]

While some speculate that the differential rates between whites and Blacks are more apparent than real, due to poor reporting in the past, the crucial point to be stressed is that cancer among Blacks has become a critical health problem.

In the period 1965-1969 a survey of cancer among Blacks was conducted in eleven major hospitals in the Washington,D.C. area. Disclosures confirmed the startling incidence of cancer among Blacks. Out of some 3,066 diagnosed cases of cancer in black women, cancer of the colon counted for 333 cases, of the breast 766 cases, and of the cervix uteri 688 cases. Black men also displayed high rates of genital cancer - 606 cases of prostate cancer, as well as 260 cases of cancer of the colon but, unlike black women, they manifested much higher rates of cancer of the esophagus (267 cases to 51 for black women) and bronchus, trachea (578 cases to 136 for black women).[6]

The same District of Columbia study revealed that black women are stricken with cancer at an earlier age than black men. As Kovi and Heshmat report: "Between the ages, 20-49, age-specific incidence rates for all cancers in Negroes of Washington, D.C. were higher in females than in males."[7] In fact, 37.7 persons per 100,000 were hit by cancer of the cervix uteri between the ages of 20 and 29. This rate climbed to 85.4 per 100,000 for the 30-39 age bracket and 93.6 for the 40-49 age category. For breast cancer high incidence was noted in the 30-39 age group -39.1 per 100,000; this incidence rose to 94.6 in the 40-49 age bracket and skyrocketed to 143.9 and 171.0 per 100,000 in the 50-59 and 60-69 age categories respectively.[8]

Furthermore, the death rate for black women suffering from breast cancer increased substantially in the period 1950-1967. It is sobering to note that while white women encounter more cases of breast cancer than black women, black women die of breast cancer more often than white women. And the rate of death by cancer for black women, as already noted, in comparison to that of white women has been increasing by leaps and bounds.[9]

A glimpse at the Vital Statistics of the United States for 1971 merely affirms the fact that Blacks are losing the battle to conquer cancer. In 1971, 33,993 Blacks died from neoplasms (19,015 males, 14,978 females). Malignant neoplasms of the breast accounted for 2,515 black female deaths and malignant neoplasms of the cervix uteri and of other parts of the uterus took the lives of 2,219 black women.[10]

Of great concern is the high incidence of cervical cancer in low-income black women, not only in the U.S. but in other areas of the world. Indeed, Dr. Robert Stepto, Chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Cook County Hospital maintains that: "it is cancer of the cervix which, when combined with pre-invasive cancer of the cervix, is probably the most common malignancy found in black women."[11] With respect to invasive cancer of the cervix black women have been lowered at a rate of 33.3 per 100,000 compared with approximately 15 per 100,000 for white women. The statistics on cancer in situ are worse: 33 per 100,000 for whites and 63 per 100,000 for Blacks.[12]

In the late 1960's Perry Homes, an all black low-income project in Atlanta, Georgia became the focal point for some nationwide alarm. It was feared that an epidemic of cervical cancer had broken out in the

project.[13] In fact, between the years 1962 and 1969 cervical cancer was diagnosed in 38 women in Perry Homes.[14] Given this high trend, further surveys were conducted by the Center For Disease Control. One, concentrating on the period January 1969 to September 1971, attempted to determine the number of cases of cervical dysplasia (non-malignant cellular damage or abnormalities in cell structure), cervical carcinoma (cancer) in situ, and invasive cancer.[15] The results confirmed the relatively high rates of dysplasia and cancer for Perry Homes. Some 81 cases of dysplasia were discovered out of 1,288 women for a rate of 63 per 1,000. Thirty of these cases involved women 15-24 years of age and 26 affected those 25-34 years old. While there were no reported cases of invasive cancer, carcinoma in situ was detected in 14 cases for a rate of 11 per 1,000.

The Perry Homes findings were compared with those of 6,267 poor women in Barbados, West Indies for the period 1964-1969, and 1,292 low-income black women in Los Angeles, California. Relatively high dysplasia and carcinoma in situ rates were detected in the West Indian and Californian women. In Barbados six cases of carcinoma in situ were discovered for every 1,000 women and 65 cases of dysplasia per 1,000. In Los Angeles 11 cases of carcinoma in situ were revealed and 64 incidents of dysplasia per 1,000. The investigators of the Perry Homes situation concluded: "Taken together, these results suggest that low-income black women, when subjected to intensive screening, will be shown to have prevalence rates of CIS (carcinoma in situ) greater than the rates given in standard references."[16]

These results indicate that much remains to be done in the area of public education and detection if the rates of dysplasia and carcinoma are to be lowered for low-income black women. That is, health care for this group must be improved; otherwise their cancer rates will continue to soar.

A glimpse at other forms of cancer and their impact on Blacks merely underscores the implication of poverty for disease detection and cure. For example, a study of 150 patients (110 males and 40 females) stricken with gastric carcinoma between 1960 and 1972 and admitted to Howard University's Freedman's Hospital disclosed that most were brought to the hospital in an advanced disease stage.[17] Obviously, then, their survival rate would be much shorter than that for Caucasians whose disease was discovered at an early stage. In connecting the high incidence of stomach cancer to low-income status Kovi et.al. wrote: "It is likely the social, economic, and dietary factors account for the higher risk of stomach carcinoma in American Negroes. Socio-economic and nutritional factors, probably influence most resistance to this disease and account for the poorer diagnosis as compared to Caucasian patients."[18] Some of these same factors were used to explain the poorer prognostic rate for some 46 black children (26 male and 20 female) stricken with actue lymphocytic leukemia, compared to that of Caucasian children: "The poor response and more advanced disease in Negro children may be attributed to a variety of race-related factors. The importance of environmental factors is supported

in this study by the prevalence of poverty in Negro families; the proportion of Negro children from the lowest socio-economic group was 6 times that of Caucasian children. The greater frequency of stunted growth in the Negro children indicates the prevalence of undernutrition among them. Furthermore, primary medical care has been neither as available nor as accessible to Negroes because of racial discrimination and the cultural patterns it engenders. Private hospitals and community service organizations have made some provisions for care of indigent Caucasians, but indigent Negroes have explicitly or implicitly been excluded to a great extent."[19]

In discussing carcinoma of the liver, expecially the high rates among males in sections of Africa, Kovi and Heshmat observed: "It was suggested that malnutrition in childhood predisposes the organ to a carcinogenic stimulus in later life."[20] Yet, not all studies of cancer in Blacks attribute the incidence or the poor prognosis for recovery to socio-economic factors. Indeed, a study of prostate cancer clearly discounted any connection between socio-economic status, as well as other factors, and the presence of carcinoma.[21] It is difficult to examine cancer as it affects black women and men, though, without at least some appreciation of socio-economic factors.

Funderburk has equated the reluctance of low-income black women to examine their breasts, an act which might well result in mastectomy, to socio-economic factors. Assume that an economically poor black woman does discover a lump in her breast. Her immediate problem is whom shall she consult? A private physician, more times than not, is much too expensive and therefore not an option. Usually, then, this woman would end up in a clinic or a city hospital, left in the hands of a "learning" staff - that is, interns and residents who could care less about her psychological makeup as she confronts the possibility of mastectomy. Or, as Funderburk puts it,"...the black female is likely to have multiple training surgeons, more interested in wound healing and recurrence of cancer than in her personal adjustment to survival."[22] Moreover, a low-income woman who has been advised to have chemotherapy or X-ray treatments several times a week for a sustained period may face the headache of not knowing how to care for her small children, or even what monies to use to get to the clinic or the hospital. Then, if the same woman has to have, or has had a mastectomy, she immediately encounters bad feelings about her personal appearance if she cannot afford the "cosemetic" items normally available to women who have undergone breast removal. Thus, says Dr. Funderburk, "The result is that it is more difficult for the average black female to adjust economically, socially, and psychologically to mastectomy probably causing a more significant delay in seeking aid for cancer of the breast."[23]

Again, if the increase of cancer among Blacks is to be controlled, better and more meaningful health care must be introduced. Moreover, health care specialists must realize that while it may be relatively easy to mount a campaign to get black women to go for a Pap smear (as in the Perry Homes situation), it may not be as easy to get the same women to seek breast examinations, or to follow the recommendations of doctors for surgery or other treatment, particularly if there is no confidence in the doctors and if social and economic factors dictate

that such a course cannot be adhered to without severe disruption to the family or a substantial, if not devastating impact on the psychological well-being of these women.

ARE DOCTORS AND OTHERS TOO WILLING TO STERILIZE OR EXPERIMENT UPON BLACK WOMEN?

Data from the 1970 National Fertility Study revealed that black women have been subjected to more contraceptive operations (tubal ligations, hysterectomies and combined procedures) than white women. The percent distribution of sterility status by race and sex was as follows:

	Contraceptive Sterilizations	
Race	Female	Male
White	4.9	5.5
Black	11.1	0.6
Other	6.8	4.5 [24]

How many of these contraceptive operations constituted involuntary sterilizations is not clear. It is known, however, though not documented in any systematic way, that: "Involuntary, coercive sterilizations have been performed on black women for decades."[25]

In the first half of the 1970's the State of North Carolina received some notoriety for its role in the sterilization of poor black women. Acting under Chapter 35, Article 7 of the North Carolina General Statutes which permits "Sterilization of Persons Mentally Defective," the Eugenics Board of North Carolina ordered the sterilization of 1,620 people during the period 1960 to 1968. The overwhelming majority of those sterilized were female - 1,583 and Black - 1,023. Partly as a result of these provocative disclosures the American Civil Liberties Union brought two suits against various parties in North Carolina, one in behalf of a young woman sterilized at 14 years of age. The young woman in question became the mother of a son in 1968, at age 14. Her grandmother who had gone to the hospital with her could not read nor write. The grandmother was asked to place an "A" on a consent form which then was used to justify sterilization of her granddaughter.

In the second case another black youngster was sterilized, in 1965 at age 18. She too had given birth to a child. Her mother had been instructed that her daughter's tubes had to be tied - temporarily - on pain of loss of welfare benefits. Needless to say, both youngsters were impoverished at the time of sterilization. As one of them put it: "We had no hot or cold running water, only pump water. No stove. No refrigerator, no electric light."[25]

Uninformed sterilizations are more than likely to occur among poor black women who find themselves as patients in a city hospital. The extent to which city hospitals may "snare" women and "seduce" them into unwanted sterilizations was touched on by the Washington, D.C. based Health Research Group in 1973.[26] Moreover, Naomi Gray, a black woman with extensive experience in the area of family planning, remarked in 1974:

> Over the years I have come in contact with a substantial number of women who have been sterilized, either by tubal ligation or hysterectomy. Many, at the time, were unaware that this had occurred, because they never consented to have the operation performed. For instance, very often, poor expectant mothers have to be admitted to tax supported municipal or public hospitals. It is not unusual, in these situations, for some of these women to be told that they have some type of 'female trouble' with surgery being the only remedy. So, many of these women sign a medical consent form, not to be sterilized, but rather, placing their faith in the doctor to discover and rectify the so-called trouble. This is not informed consent; instead these women have been sterilized through means of deceit and trickery.[27]

Noting the persistent and pervasive tendency of doctors to sterlize poor black Mississippi women just after children were born to them, the Medical Committee for Human Rights launched an educational campaign in the early sixties to put an end to deplorable uninformed sterilizations.[28]

When the Relf case broke, unmasking the arbitrary inhumanity inflicted on poverty-stricken young females, young black females, some segments of the population were aroused to action. Senator Edward Kennedy held hearings pertinent to the matter. The United States Justice Department and the Office of Economic Opportunity launched investigations. And the Department of Health, Education and Welfare pronounced and released guidelines prohibiting uninformed consent sterilizations. Yet, as always, once the fury and outrage of the moment dissipated, the issue and condition remained. Indeed, the promulgation of guidelines merely represents a desired state (at least for some); it does not guarantee the automatic existence of that desired state. Hence, somewhere today some indigent young black woman no doubt is undergoing a surgical process which will terminate rudely and for her, unknowingly, her child bearing capacity.

Two striking questions may be distilled from the controversy over sterilization of indigent females, especially those Black. First, if state laws permit sterilization of the mentally retarded, are those sterilized under the law really mentally retarded? Second, even if an individual is mentally retarded, should sterilization be imposed? In one of the sterilization actions filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and mentioned earlier in the paper, the North Carolina doctor who performed the sterilization called the plaintiff an "18 year old mentally deficient Negro girl." This label was used despite the fact that the young woman never had been observed or tested by a psychiatrist or psychologist, or any other person skilled in such matters to determine whether she was "mentally defective."[29] Indeed at the time suit was filed in her behalf by the A.C.L.U., the young woman worked as a nurse's aide in a hospital in the State of New York. Then, too, she obviously

was considered intelligent enough to appear on the CBS TV News Program, 60 Minutes.[30] In her case, then, the mark "mentally deficient" appeared inappropriate but unfortunately for her resulted in a lifetime sterilization.

Dr. Clifford R. Wheeless, Jr. of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, the Johns Hopkins University, School of Medicine recently reported on a study of the guardians of "mentally retarded" patients sterilized at Johns Hopkins in the period 1950 to 1973. An interpretation of his findings suggests that the determination of mental retardation is more subjective than objective. "No single Intelligence Quotient or score of a psychological test was used to determine eligibility for sterilization by hysterectomy...," wrote Dr. Wheeless.[31] Each patient, though, was seen by a psychiatrist or psychologist and sterilization resulted "when, in the judgment of the psychiatrist or psychologist, the patient was retarded and, in addition, was not competent to manage the menstrual periods or recognize and report pelvic pathology, was incapable of understanding the relationship between sexual intercourse and reproduction, and was incompetent to raise a child..."[32] Given the tendency of persons in this country to label all those they do not understand as "retarded"[33] should there not be systematic efforts to make certain that young women are not sterilized on the erroneous supposition that they are mentally retarded?

Equally provocative is the question whether young women who definitely are mentally retarded should be sterilized. The Johns Hopkins study, supervised by Dr. Wheeless, is an interesting one in that it seeks to obtain the opinions of parents or guardians about their present day attitudes to past sterilization of their charges. In the period 1950 to 1973 150 "mentally retarded" females were given abdominal hysterectomies. The parents or guardians of 92 of these young women were surveyed. Dr. Wheeless admits that "in many cases the parent or guardian at the present time was not the parent or guardian at the time the operation was performed," and further that 40% of the parents or guardians of the 150 patients were not included in the survey, thus introducing a new variable in the matter and risking misinterpretation of the true state of affairs with respect to parental attitudes toward sterilization of the mentally retarded. Nonetheless Dr. Wheeless holds steadfast to his belief that sterilization of mentally retarded females is a rational way, perhaps the most rational as well as feasible way of handling a bad situation. He appears to adhere to the school which insists that the mentally retarded must be "protected" from pregnancy. Moreover, mentally retarded females are considered too difficult to care for during menstrual periods and later in life as diseases associated with the reproductive system may appear. As Dr. Wheeless stated: "It has been the opinion of the attending gynecologists and house staff of this institution over the last 23 years that abdominal hysterectomy is the preferred technique for surgical sterilization in the mentally retarded for the predominant reasons that it eliminates the menstrual period, eliminates the most common causes of gynecologic pathology, and is a 100 percent effective method of female sterilization."[34] The policy question raised by Dr. Wheeless's comments is: Should the right to bear children be denied to those who are very

dumb, the mentally retarded, because society finds it too hard to care for them, let alone their offspring? Does a humane society owe an obligation to its retarded to find some other means of "caring" for them short of snatching away what some consider the precious right to bear children? Is it time to move away from Justice Holmes' justification of the sterilization of an inmate in a mental institution: "Three generations of imbeciles are enough?"[35]

The mentally retarded often get the short end, too, in terms of the use of experimental drugs. In the 1973 Hearings Before the Senate Subcommittee on Health, abuses in the use of DepoProvera were brought to light. DepoProvera, a drug approved by the FDA in treatment of certain forms of cancer, had not been sanctioned by FDA for general contraceptive use. Yet, communities, especially those in Tennessee began to inject young women - particularly the mentally retarded and welfare recipients - with DepoProvera. Few if any of those injected were warned that DrpoProvera might produce malignancies. The Arlington Hospital and School for the "mentally retarded" in Arlington, Tennessee sent a letter to the parents and guardians of its residents stating in part:

> One area to which we have given considerable thought, and about which we have sought consultation from specialists in this field, is that of reducing time in taking care of the personal hygiene of females here who are having menstrual periods. A drug, depo-provera, has been used in other institutions such as ours to prevent ovulation and menstrual periods. This drug has been approved by the Federal Drug Administration and is being marketed as a safe drug.[36]

This letter contrasted sharply with the Upjohn Company (manufacturer of DepoProvera) consent form which among other things included the following warning:

> I understand that this injection will be given to me in an attempt to keep me from becoming pregnant. I have been told that tests in dogs injected with this drug showed that some of them developed tumors in their breasts. Some of these tumors were cancerous and spread to other organs. It is not known whether or not similar tumors or cancers will grow in my breasts after receiving the drug.[37]

The Arlington Hospital and School consent form contained no such warning. It did state, however, that DepoProvera "is to be injected every three months for the purposes of preventing menstruation, thereby making resident more comfortable and to lessen nursing care."[38]

In describing her experience with the welfare department and the subsequent injection of DepoProvera she received, a young Tennessee woman in her early twenties said:

> In July of 1971, I was called to the welfare office. The welfare lady asked me if I had signed up for family planning. I was not on it then, and she said I ought to be taking something or other. She said they'd rather feed one youngun as two. She made arrangements for me to go to the health department. She said the shot would be the best because I wouldn't have to worry about forgetting it. She said it would last 6-8 months. I didn't go the first two times she arranged it because I was scared a little. In August or September one, I went to family planning at the health department. I signed up with them, that's all I ever signed.[39]

The young woman was given an injection of DepoProvera and despite being told she would have no period for 6-8 months, started spotting within one month, then became extremely nervous, "not acting like" herself. She consulted a private doctor who maintained that he knew nothing of Depo-Provera. This doctor gave her an injection to produce her period. One week later her period commenced and continued for 3-4 weeks. The young woman never was told of the dangers involved in the use of DepoProvera and in fact had never seen the Upjohn consent form.

The problem of experimentation or careless use of potentially dangerous drugs is not limited to low-income or mentally retarded groups. In 1972 it was discovered that DES was being used widely on college campuses, without the slightest warning that cancer could appear, not only in women using DES but also in any children born to them. DES, Diethylstilbestrol or the "Morning After Pill" found its way into the bodies of young women at universities such as Michigan, Vermont, Oregon, Syracuse, Minnesota, and Harvard.[40] Virtually none of the college and university women taking DES were aware of its association with cancer, especially cervical cancer. Few of them were aware that 100 young women whose mothers had taken DES in the 40s and 50s now were afflicted with cancer.[41] Then, too, few of them were cognizant of the November 1971 FDA Drug Bulletin specifying the dangers of DES.[42] Moreover, all too few had read the Fact Sheet of the Advocates for Medical Information at the University of Michigan, released on November 15, 1972.[43]

To return to the experience of the poor, a frightening case history of experimentation on impoverished, predominantly minority females was recounted in 1973 by Dr. Sidney M. Wolfe of the Health Research Group in Washington, D.C. His account and the subsequent dispute of that account by Merle Goldberg, Director of the National Women's Health Coalition raises yet another perplexing issue: whose interpretation of medical episodes and potentially dangerous medical techniques should one believe? According to Dr. Wolfe, twenty pregnant, mostly young and black women were transported from Chicago to Philadelphia to help test a "super coil", a new mechanism designed to induce abortions. Two doctors who had never used the "super coil" were assigned to the women. The only person present with a knowledge of the instrument was the "psychologist who originated the super coil method." Efforts were made to abort fifteen of the women with the "super coil". Nine (60%)

of the women developed complications and three of them experienced major abnormalities. Dr. Wolfe related the three major complications as follows:

> 1) An 18-year old, single black woman who was approximately 17 weeks pregnant had uncontrollable bleeding following removal of the super coil. The patient went into shock and was transferred to a general hospital where doctors administered seven units of blood but were unable to stop the bleeding. Surgeons performed emergency surgery which resulted in a total abdominal hysterectomy. The surgery had revealed extensive lacerations of the uterus.
>
> 2) The second case involved a 22-year old single, black woman also in her 17th week of pregnancy, who was hospitalized after returning to Chicago because of severe abdominal pain. She too required abdominal surgery.
>
> 3) The third case involved an 18-year old Mexican-American woman who was 15 weeks pregnant and who, three days after the abortion, became severely anemic and iron injections and oral iron were administered.[44]

The grotesqueness of this kind of inhumane experimentation seems to speak for itself. Yet, Merle Goldberg took sharp issue with Dr. Wolfe. By her interpretation the National Women's Health Coalition had helped arrange an emergency abortion for 20 women. When efforts to get the abortions in New York failed, it was decided to send the women to Philadelphia, by bus. Goldberg admitted that the "physicians had not performed a super coil abortion before," but insisted that "many aspects of this technique were familiar to both doctors."[45] Goldberg confessed, too, that "there were complications" but argued that "many factors besides the coil could have caused the complications."[46] Moreover, the severity of some of the complications was questioned, although with respect to the three most complex cases cited by Dr. Wolfe, Merle Goldberg called his account of the third accurate, and did not dispute the subsequent events mentioned in the first two. Then, too, Goldberg maintained that all of the women had been briefed on the risks they confronted in being aborted by the super coil technique, and were sent to Philadelphia in the company of female counselors. So, in the face of an apparently grotesque experience, the Director of the National Women's Health Coalition comes to the defense of doctors who employed a super coil for the first time; furthermore, the director advocates the super coil technique as an alternative to a saline procedure for a second trimester abortion. For the uninitiated who is to be believed? Dr. Wolfe or Merle Goldberg?

How many black women and other women have suffered from negative side effects including death, associated with various contraceptive devices is not clear. It is evident, however, that abnormalities and deaths have been connected to the use of intrauterine devices,

especially the Dalkon Shield.[47] In spite of these negative indications, however, one doctor's sole concern seems to be that the Dalkon Shield is not 100% effective against pregnancy.[48] Yet, in June 1974 the manufacturers of the Dalkon Shield, the A.H.Robbins Company, announced suspension of sale and distribution of the shield so that studies of its "safety" could be conducted. Given such suspension for safety reasons it is frightening to learn that between 1970 and 1975 to date some 2.2 million Dalkon Shields were inserted in women. It is even more frightening that the shield was not withdrawn completely from the market. What A.H.Robbins Company decided to do was to dispatch letters to doctors explaining how they might best handle the shield.[49] With respect to other types of IUD contraceptives all women may not be warned to conditions which preclude their use: "cancer of the cervix or of the body of the uterus; congenital heart disease; a history of rheumatic heart disease and/or endocarditis (since patients with valvular heart disease are especially susceptible to subacute bacterial endocarditis)."[50]

To what extent should IUD devices be tested on black women, on low-income women? The Harlem Hospital Family Planning Clinic has been testing the efficacy of the "Copper T" IUD device. As of early 1974 some 1,600 women had been fitted with the device.[51] The question is not an easy one, despite what has been said thus far in the paper, especially if the device appears to be a much better alternative than those associated with an incidence of carcinoma. On the Copper IUD one investigator already has written that it "offers promise, but not as much as originally contemplated."[52] Yet, another study seems to suggest that "the copper-containing IUD may play a useful role in preventing gonorrhea."[53] Once the evils of contraceptive devices, particularly the various IUDs, are exposed, it is easy to say that no experimentation should have occurred. Prior to exposure, however, the question remains a perplexing one.

ARE OTHER PHYSICAL AND MENTAL ILLNESSES LIMITING THE VITALITY OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

In a paper of this nature it is impossible to touch on all the health concerns which have wide ranging ramifications for the vitality of black communities. It is important to stress, however, some of the other more damaging health problems which level black women and men into states of impotency.

There is a high incidence of diabetes mellitus in the black community; thousands of Blacks have died from it. Indeed in 1971, 5,694 black deaths resulted from diabetes mellitus. Of these 3,720 were black females.[54] Parenthetically diabetes often is found in women who also have high blood pressure and uterine fibroids.[55] Diseases of the circulatory system wiped out 98,641 Blacks in 1971 - 47,814 of them female.[56] In that connection ischemic heart disease alone caused 55,195 black deaths - 25,578 of them female.[57] And cerebrovascular disease took 24,373 black lives in 1971, 12,948 of them female.[58]

Three diseases which exact a heavy toll on the black community are worth further exploration. They are hypertension, diseases of the digestive system, and mental disorders. The last two, at times, are related.[59]

In 1973 Dr. Norma J. Goodwin wrote: "More than 13,500 Blacks die annually from hypertension whereas 340 die annually of the more publicized sickle cell anemia."[60] Hypertension is not a "Black disease" since it affects the total American population, but it has been identified, racially, with black Americans. This identification undoubtedly stems from the fact that although hypertension affects between 15 and 20% of the American populace, the black affliction rate is twice that of whites.[61] Among Blacks the incidence in young black females is high.[62]

Black and white alike may not know that they are victims of hypertension. It is postulated, for example, that of the 23 million people suffering from hypertension (160 systolic, 95 diastolic blood pressure)[63] in 1972 "only about half" knew of their condition, and of that half only half were receiving treatment.[64] One study, carried out in Georgia in 1962 and reported on in 1973 divulged that some 35.6% of white females knew they had high blood pressure but were not taking medication while 31.7% of the white females had no idea that hypertension had invaded their bodies. By comparison, 60.7% of the black males in the same study did not know they were hypertensives and therefore were not under treatment.[65]

A common question posed attempts to discover the causes of hypertension, especially in black women. Dr. Charles Curry of Howard University and Freedman's Hospital links heredity, diet, emotional stress, obesity, toxemia of pregnancy and oral contraceptive pills to the appearance of hypertension in black women.[66] Many doctors and scientists have cited the hereditary factor in the outbreak of hypertension.[67] On the emotional stress factor it is sypothesized that "the well known role of the black woman in the family unit subjects her to more of the stresses of modern living."[68] That is, countless black women labor each week at hard and pressurized jobs and then daily must see to the care of the home, including children, often without the assistance of a male partner.[69] Many black women, often due to unhealthy diets, tend to be on the fat side. Some studies have shown that once weight is shed, blood pressures are lowered.[70] According to Dr. Curry: "Toxemia of pregnancy and the pseudopregnancy state produced by oral contraceptive medication produce hypertension in a small percentage of susceptible women."[71] In addition to the factors listed by Dr. Curry, Dr. Hazel Swann cites "triggering" factors as age, sex, race, environment (social and ecological factors), salt ingestion, smoking, and social pressures."[72]

Much remains to be done in terms of approaches to hypertension. While the nation has been in the midst of a campaign against hypertension, some individuals still are walking the streets unaware that they have hypertension. Recently my advice to one of my young black graduate students was to go at once to the hospital to have his blood pressure

checked. The idea had never occurred to him, and he was startled to discover that indeed his pressure was elevated, sufficiently to place him on medication. Some who know they have hypertension have become discouraged by the follow-up treatment pattern which often necessitates their waiting in long lines (and missing valuable time at work) for treatment.[73] Still others resist giving up a long time use of salt, often a recommendation for hypertensives. Clearly it is difficult to break some habits, especially if they mean the ingestion of what is perceived as tasteless food. Finally, some are opposed to medication. Black men often regard "hypertension pills" as a threat to their manhood since they may experience some impotency.[74] Black women may see the pills as a luxury they cannot afford in the face of hungry children.[75]

Diseases of the digestive system and mental disorders took the lives of some 11,500 Blacks in 1971.[76] Mental disorders include dementias, psychoses, alcoholic psychoses, alcoholism, neuroses and mental retardation. Diseases of the digestive system incorporate ulcer, gastritis, and cirrhosis of the liver. What is striking about the statistics is the degree to which Blacks are dying from alcoholism and related disease. Alcoholism alone accounted for 1,203 black deaths in 1971, 915 of them male.[77] Cirrhosis of the liver struck down 2,757 males and 1,713 females- of these alcoholic cirrhosis took out 1,310 males and 705 females.

These statistics tend to indicate that Blacks are beset, perhaps in larger numbers than realized, by severe societal pressures with which they cannot cope, and for which they often cannot find adequate treatment.[78] Suicide ended 1,220 black lives in 1971, 359 of them female. Dr. James P. Comer argues that Blacks have been hit hard by what he calls "social depression". Says Dr. Comer: "Social depression is a far more troublesome entity than commonly recognized. It is at the root of a great deal of what appears to be individual apathy, even laziness, and community decay. In light of the black experience in America, it is understandable that it effects a disproportionate number of Blacks. The rapid technological change and related social changes complicate the problem." [79] What are the causes of social depression? "Powerlessness, self doubt, and a sense of hopelessness are some of the key findings..."[80]

While suicide is not a major problem in the black community, it is somewhat bedeviling to observe a sudden increase in the rate of black suicide and attempted suicides in at least two communities - San Francisco and Highland Part (near Detroit). In 1970 the black suicide rate in California was 10.4 per 100,000, some three times the national rate for Blacks (3.9 per 100,000). This compared unfavorably with a 1960 black suicide rate in California of 4.4. In San Francisco the black suicide rate zoomed from a low of only 3 suicides in 1960 (too tiny to compute on a per 100,000 basis) to a rate of 17.6 suicides per 100,000 in 1970. Of significance, too, is that the rate of suicides for black females in California in the 20-24 age category stood at 30.2 per 100,000 in 1970.[81]

On the attempt side, the Highland Park Mental Health Program experienced a jump in incidence. In 1970 and 1971 only 15 to 20 suicide attempts were reported. Then, as Dr. Floyd Wylie explains it: "Rather suddenly, in 1972, there seemed to be an epidemic of teenage female suicide attempts. Where in the past there had been approximately 20 reported attempts, 70 reported attempts were noted in 1972."[82]

What happens in a family situation when a black teenager attempts suicide? How do family members react? It is dangerous to generalize, but one case history from Highland Park may not be totally a typical:

> The center was called by a young woman who was being seen at the center to report that her niece, her sister's daughter, had taken an overdose of some kind of pill. The caller did not live in the same house as the niece or mother. One of the staff called the home of the young woman. The mother answered the phone and stated that her daughter was asleep and that she was unable to rouse her to get her to go to school. The mother further stated that the child was "too much trouble anyway and if she dies, she dies." The mother was finally prevailed upon over the phone to try again to rouse her daughter and to get her to the phone. This was finally accomplished. The daughter appeared to be stuporous, groggy, her speech was slurred and she seemed unable to carry through on a thought. The mother although resisting profanely, did finally agree to bring her daughter to the center although she refused to take her to the emergency room of the hospital located about 70 years from the center. The patient, a teenager about 14, stated that she had wanted to get some help but had been discouraged and dissuaded from it by her mother. The mother, for her part, explained that her daughter was disobedient, a poor student and she was afraid furthermore that her daughter would get into trouble (become pregnant). Furthermore, the mother stated that she was separated from her husband and had been for a number of years...On subsequent interviews the daughter, who incidentally seemed to recover from the depression, and at last report was doing well, appeared to participate in this sense of belief in the myth that manless Black families are destructive, weak, etc....This theme with very minor variations was repeated in a number of cases of young women and teenagers interviewed during that period.[83]

What probably comes across, then, in black social depression and black suicides, and attempted suicides, is almost total demoralization in terms of family conditions, as well as a sense of powerlessness stemming from economic and political conditions in America. Such conditions may well spur Blacks to lift the bottle to their lips or to seek escape through drugs.

CONCLUSION: ISN'T IT TIME TO ACT?

Health care in America generally is in a deplorable state. Even those who can afford the best of medical care often end up with lousy treatment, dispensed by careless, ill-trained, overworked, or exhausted physicians. For black Americans, especially the poor, it borders on the criminal. Often instead of being perceived as patients deserving of the best medical care possible they are regarded as slime, or non-persons, or moral pestilence, or animals at worst - subjected to unbelievably inhumane conditions - and at best as potential bodies for experimentation.

If harsh and unconscionable conditions in contemporary medical care are to be alleviated, indeed erased, then every single able-bodied person in this country needs to become involved in a campaign for better health care. Such a campaign necessitates not only a massive citizen education effort, but also a keen examination of physician performance, clinical and hospital conditions. In this decade of economic adversity when municipal budgets are being slashed mercilessly, it is all the more important that such examination take place. Otherwise the mortality statistics for 1975, 1976, and on to the end of the seventies may prove terrifying. Already noted in 1975 has been the awful jump in deaths by cancer - five times that expected.84 What other statistical jumps are in store for us?

If significant portions of our black population, indeed our total population, are not to drop like flies to disease, with substantial numbers of Blacks yielding to merciful deaths which stamp our unremitting pain, then the realization must set in that the time to act is now. Adequate health care will not be brought to us on a wooden dish, let alone a silver platter. We must seek it, indeed struggle for it. The time to act is now!

FOOTNOTES

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THE MEDIA AND THEIR EFFECT ON BLACK IMAGES

Beth Rawles

"Think of a party at which one man [person] does all the talking, including his [the] telling of your stories on your behalf with you standing right there. If you can imagine it, you will begin to understand minority frustration."

Joseph Okpaku, Editor
Third World Press

THE IMAGES

Certain myths, images and stereotypes of Blacks have existed in American minds since the late 1800's. Having been around a long time these images have become so ingrained and internalized in our word usage and thinking patterns that non-Blacks' response to black people is often based on the stereotypes that they hold in their mind's eye. Unfortunately, the myths and stereotypes that influence what others think about Blacks also influence, to some degree, what Blacks think about themselves.

Although the word "Black" has been used for centuries by western minds to describe evil, immoral and generally negative things, black stereotyping in America did not begin in earnest until the era of slavery in this country's history. Lenworth Gunther says:

> "Before 1865 slaves were commonly caricatured as Sambos who had little capacity for sustained mental activity... They were happy-go-lucky, submissive, and obedient. If they refused to work or work fast enough, that simply proved they were shiftless, lazy and incapable of appreciating the value of property. (White laborers who indulged in similar behavior were classified as strikers.)"[1]

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and Third President of the United States, was quite explicit in his stereotyping of Blacks and made comments concerning their smell, their propensity to song and dance, their sensuality and their inability to experience grief.

In minstrel shows and advertisements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the physical characteristics of Blacks were exaggerated and capitalized on by whites for profit while at the same time perpetuating and reinforcing negative images of black people as "...lazy, shiftless, improvident, superstitious, stupid, ignorant and slow," and further depicted in Blacks a liking for "watermelon, chicken, gin, crap games, razors, and big words."[2]

One of the most prevalent stereotypes of the black male is the "Tom". This stereotype gets its name from one of the main characters in Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, Uncle Tom's Cabin. The Tom's major obligation in life is to seek the favor of whites by being a dutiful servant. David Bogle in his book entitled Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks, noted that:

> "Always as toms are chased, harassed, hounded, flogged, enslaved, and insulted, they keep the faith, n'er turn against their white massas, and remain hearty, submissive, stoic, generous, selfless, and oh-so-very kind."[3]

The image of the "Coon" is known by many names: Rastus, Sambo, and Spook, to name a few. The Coon is the happy-go-lucky darky character, the natural slave. His toothy smile is ever evident, his feet obligingly shuffle, and his hand always seems to be scratching his head in puzzlement while his mouth unendingly forms the word "Yassuh!" Bogle says that:

> "Before its death, the coon developed into the blatantly degrading of all black stereotypes. The pure coons emerged as no-account niggers, those unreliable, crazy, lazy, subhuman creatures, good for nothing more than eating watermelons, stealing chickens, shooting crap, or butchering the English language."[4]

The black man as the "Big Black Buck" put great fear into the hearts of whites for the Buck was portrayed as a stud bent on rape, pillage and destruction. The object of the Buck's lust was the white woman and in David Bogle's words, Bucks were depicted as "big, baadd niggers, oversexed and savage, violent and frenzied as they lust for white flesh."[5]

The newest image of the black man to emerge is "Superfly". Superfly is 'cool' and always in control whatever the situation. He is elegantly dressed in the latest men's fashions, there is a beautiful woman ever present to attend to his needs. Superfly is the epitome of the touch but righteous gangster--the ghetto Robin Hood. Bogle calls Superfly a "glorification of the pusher-hero," and further states that this image "plays on the legends of blacks' high-powered sexuality."[6]

The "Mammy" (alternating with the "Matriarch") is a prevalent stereotype of the black woman. "Mammies are the large sturdy black women to whom everyone looks for strength and succor."[7] The Mammy, in addition to being fat is usually calm, smiling and completely sexless. She is a paragon of maternal servility who can "cuddle a baby one minute and send a flapjack flying through the air at 90 m.p.h. the next."[8] The Mammy usually directs her ministrations to others from "her place" in the pantry or kitchen. As long as the people the broad-armed, apron-clad black woman cares for are white she is called "Mammy," but when it is her own black household that is in her care she mysteriously becomes a Matriarch, with stern features and an Amazonian will. According to the myth of the Matriarch, she is the emasculating female who is the central figure and authority in the black family.

The "Ingenue", another black female image, comes across as subordinate, submissive and innocent. "She[9] is good, clean, well mannered and attractive. She is quiet and calm." These characteristics often come through when the Ingenue is portrayed as the "Tragic Mulatto" or the "Docile Damsel." According to Liz Grant:

> "The tragic mulatto stereotype is the poor soul sister who is 'lucky' enough to be born light, but unfortunately, black all the same. She usually falls in love with some 'good' white man (i.e. white liberal), but she can never marry because of the horrible 'secret' of her true color."[10]

The Docile Damsel is ever ready to aid her man in any way. She will fearlessly risk personal peril to be with him and accede to his every wish and whim. In other words, she exists to be "his woman" and exhibits dog-like loyalty even in the face of rejection.

The "Seductress" fits the myths of the black woman as sex incarnate. She is an aggressive, flamboyant, shameless and sensual character who is commonly represented as a prostitute, whore or loose woman. While the Seductress is in control of her situation, the "Sex Object" is the woman who is used and abused by black and white men alike. She is not human; she is an empty female vessel to be used for decoration and pleasure, becoming little more than a sexual robot.

The newest and most popular image of the black woman is one that depicts her as a "Tough Mamma." These women are heroines and loners who embark on dangerous adventures to right some grave wrong. They are usually tall, shapely, deadly, and radiate machisma. They are an example of sexrole reversal where the woman is the one who is the expert in martial arts, such as Karate, and the use of firearms. The Tough Mamma doesn't need men for ego support -- she goes blithly from assignment to assignment alone, and lethal.

THE MOVIES

The movies, like other mass communications systems, "provide most of the 'educational' stimuli which the great majority of people receive after the completion of their formal schooling."[11] In looking at the movies as educational stimuli, an understanding of what the general public has been taught about Blacks via motion pictures can be developed by a perusal of the productions of mainstream Hollywood film makers over the years.

In 1902 a movie called Off to Bloomingdale Asylum stereotyped Blacks as Coons and portrayed the slave owners as champions of a noble cause. The first appearance of the "Tom" took place when Edwin S. Porter, a mechanic turned movie-director, filmed a 12 minute movie called Uncle Tom's Cabin, a story about a meek, devoted slave. This was truly a white perception of how Blacks should act, for Uncle Tom was played by a white in black face. Tom Lucas was the first Black to play Uncle Tom in 1914. Little Eva, in this movie, was a typical sweet, tragic Ingenue.

With regard to the stereotyping of black women in these early films, Mapp says:

> "A half century of screen humiliation for the black woman began with silent films like The Wooing and Wedding of a Coon (1905) and The Masher (1907). The message conveyed by the latter was that not even a white 'skirt chaser' could have romantic inclinations toward a black woman. This theme of contempt for women who possess even a trace of African ancestry endured fifty years later."[12]

A further example of this was Coon Town Suffragettes, a movie in which black women stereotyped as Mammies tried in vain to keep their "no good" Coon-like husbands out of the local saloons. Birth of a Nation is perhaps the best known of these early pre-1920 movies. This movie was created by W.D.Griffith and was the first film spectacular made in America. It touched off massive black protests across the country because of its content. It was finally banned in five states and 19 cities.

The beginning of the film depicts the slaves as happy childlike servants. There were Mammies and Toms aplenty and all is order, sweetness and light. The Civil War breaks out and the Reconstruction Era ushers in the image of the Big Black Bucks who seem bent on raping white women and taking over the countryside by force. As a corrective measure, there emerges a group of good upright Southern white men who don white sheets and hoods and restore order and white supremacy to the South. Birth of a Nation presented a classic polarization of white as good and black as evil.

In the next 20 year period, we see such films as Hearts of Dixie (1929), Green Pastures (1936) and The Littlest Rebel (1935), with Shirley Temple and Bill "BoJamgles" Robinson, which again display Blacks as happy childlike folk, singin' and dancin' and prayin'. Hearts of Dixie, despite its stereotyping, was significant in that it was the first black feature film and boasted a cast recruited for the most part from the New York stage. This period also produced several movies which showcase black female images in their convenient stereotyped roles. In 1929 a film entitled Hallelujah starred Nina Mae McKinney as Chick, a Seductress who "seduces a poor black cotton picker and relieves him of his hard earned cash."[13] Another film, Scar of Shame, produced in 1929 features an Ingenue who is a lower-class black girl married to a black concert pianist. The plot thickens and the movie ends tragically for the Ingenue who commits suicide, and happily for the pianist who marries a woman who is his social equal.

In 1935 we meet the Ingenue again, but this time she is the "Tragic Mulatto" in Imitation of Life. It's the classic tale of the light skinned black woman who rejects her dark skinned mother and falling in love with a white man tries to pass for white. As the movie ends, we watch her anguish as her dead mother is carried off to be buried.

In 1939 Hattie McDaniels showed that she could play Mammy to the hilt and won an Oscar for best supporting actress. This was the first Oscar ever awarded to a black actress. Mapp comments:

> "Hollywood, prone to replicate successes and now convinced that audiences would 'walk a million miles' for one of Mammy's smiles wrapped a bandana around the head of each working black actress faster than you can say 'Ah's comin'."[14]

After 1940 Hollywood began to drop the blatant stereotypes that had been so prevalent in the mainstream films. Black images began to change partly because of the interest of the film makers in producing

films which condemned Nazi anti-Semitism during the war years. In the words of David Bogle:

> "After World War II an altered social consciousness as well as a certain class system in the U.S. demanded a new set of black images. Integration was heralded as a panacea to all the country's racial ills."[15]

The black images began to shift and while Stepin Fetchit and Butterfly McQueen were still Uncle Tommings and Mammying to some extent, a new wave of black screen stars appeared as part of white made movies; usually in segregated sequences or in black musicals such as Cabin In the Sky, that featured Lena Horne, Ethel Waters, Duke Ellington, and Louis Armstrong.

With the advent of the Civil Rights Movement in the 50's and 60's came another splurge of black images and some interesting things began to happen to the black woman's image. In Raisin in the Sun (1961) the Mammy figure becomes the Matriarch in the personage of Claudia McNeil as the grandmother. Paris Blues (1961) starring Diahann Carroll and Joanne Woodward puts a black woman and a white woman on equal terms for the first time. Two fairly honest portrayals of black life and black womanhood appear. They are Nothing But a Man (1964) and For Love of Ivy (1969) both starring Abby Lincoln and each telling the story of the Ingenue's growth to womanhood. In Hurry Sundown, we find the Mammy/ Matriarch again but this time she repents bitterly on her deathbed that she has spent her life as a "white folk's nigger."

The 1970's brought a rebirth of black films. Putney Swope, Cotton Comes to Harlem, Sweet Sweetback's Baadasses Song, Shaft, and Superfly began to create a box office magic that actually helped to revive a dying industry, for Hollywood's audience had dwindled from 80 million in 1946 to 18 million in 1970. These Blaxploitation Flicks as they were dubbed did not capitalize on the progress made in black images during the Civil Rights Movement. The men became urban heroes of sorts but for the black woman, especially, it was back to myths and stereotypes.

The Seductress although hardly an ideal portrayal of black womanhood at least exerted control over her actions and was independent; but in the new black films the Seductress becomes the Sex Object, and Margaret Edmundson Sloan reacted this way:

> "I was angry, hostile, livid...I had developed a female consciousness as well as my black one, and all I felt in the pit of my gut was: so this is the price of integration. Now the black man will be able to do all the baadassed things that the white man can do, and have that behavior called 'revolutionary'. In 'Sweetback' and other films, I saw the black man inherit the cave mentality of the white man - the right to rape and murder, the right to use the female to find himself and his manhood."[16]

Laura Greene who co-starred in Putney Swope has this to say about the portrayal of black women in these films:

> "In examining this situation, I make the following charges: 1) the white film companies who are 'cashing in' on the new found black market are reinforcing and perpetuating the black stereotypical image, particularly the black woman, degrading her importance in our society, 2) ... that certain black film makers who have made some headway in the industry are equally as guilty."[17]

Vincent Tubbs, press director of Community Relations at Warner Bros. and a twelve year veteran of the Hollywood scene observes that although there was a demand for the class picture like Raisin in the Sun, the community did not support this picture or others like it in sufficient numbers to make these kind of films profitable. He feels that films like Superfly and Shaft appeal to the mass psychology and are so popular that people will stand in line for hours at the box office to buy tickets.[18]

Another black female image being peddled in the 70's is that of the "Tough Mamma" as exemplified by Tamara Dobson in Cleopatra Jones and Pam Grier in Coffy. The Tough Mamma is the female counterpart to Shaft and Superfly. These women play two-fisted crime busters who karate chop and groin kick their way to stardom without benefit of studio promotional machinery because of the unusual nature of their role. Margaret Haskell feels that these Tough Mammas are shallow one-dimensional characters... Amazons:

> "After all, the Amazon--feminist enthusiasm to the contrary--is largely a figure of male fantasy, a projection of male fears exercised through a phallicized mother figure (one breast removed or the hand outstretched with weapon)."[19]

That may very well bo so, but after years and years of Mammies, Matriarchs, Ingenues and Sex Objects, I find myself agreeing with Sloan when she says:

> "Cleopatra Jones...was needed. Many more films are needed that portray us as we are and have been, in all shades and in all kinds of situations...when that starts to happen, it won't be such a rare thing for me to hear a young sister behind me say, as I did when we left Cleopatra Jones... 'Damn. That movie felt good!'"[20]

THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Television and radio grew in importance during the time when Hollywood was experiencing a decline. Regarding the stereotypes of Blacks in radio and television, Simpson and Yinger state that even though television and radio helped many black actors obtain work that was unavailable in the

movie industry at that time, the roles offered to the actors were inconsequential.[21] In the early 1940's the New York State Commission Against Discrimination called advertising executives and radio and television networks together at the request of the Co-ordinating Council for Negro Performers. The business representatives "concluded that without violating artistic standards it would be possible to cast Negroes in a number of acts which would not carry the connotation of Negro roles."[22] The following statement was made by the Mutual Broadcasting Network at about the same time:

> "Because America is made up of peoples of all races, colors and nationalities, Mutual accepts no program which misrepresents, ridicules, or attacks any of them."[23]

The Writer's War Board wanted to convince radio writers that stereotypes were a disservice and Robert J. Landry, a member of the board and supervisor of writing for the Columbia Broadcasting System, prepared a memorandum which concluded:

> "In sum, the use of a little ingenuity in devising new types of characters for minor roles, and the eschewing of the cut and dried minority group types, will not only save you from the serious offense of fostering group prejudice; it will also benefit your writing." [24]

To determind if these efforts had any effect on the stereotyping of Blacks in radio and television we must examine the black images being broadcast over the air waves both then and now.

The situation with radio is clearly described by a newspaper article which described Georgia state senator Julian Bond's remarks to the 20th Annual National Association of Television and Radio Announcers' Convention, held August 12-16, 1975 in Baltimore, Maryland. Bond said:

> "During radio's pre-television heyday of the thirties and early forties, local and network broadcasters relegated anywhere from one to three hour per day to black audiences. On local stations, this usually took the form of recorded blues or spiritual music programs, often with white DJs."
>
> "On Sunday, religious programming included live broadcasts of black church services and gospel singing. From time to time, black talent was featured."
>
> "As Americans switched to TV for entertainment and information during the early fifties, radio was forced to change radically. That change took the form of specialty radio and gave rise to the all-rock, all-jazz, all-classical, all-talk stations."
>
> Bond charged that radio has failed "miserably" in dealing with the need for the black community and soundly lamblasted the total radio industry for its failure to provide meaningful

news coverage. 'Since the boom of the fifties, the basic format on black-oriented radio has changed very little... several consecutive r&b programs throughout the broadcasting day interrupted by one or two newscasts each hour, maybe a gospel music broadcast and religious programming on Sunday.'

"So black radio listeners no matter their age or preference find only one type of outlet aimed specifically at them.

Bond claimed that "soul radio executives defend their practices by insisting they give their listeners only what they want. My quarrel is not with the music. My quarrel is with the broadcasters who could offer information and public service without disturbing their profits."[25]

Since its invention, television has become the nation's most powerful medium. According to Ebony Magazine:

"Its 'vibes' are among the nation's most powerful social and psychological forces. It informs. It educates. It communicates. It entertains. It influences. Television is watched by nearly everyone. 96% of American homes contain at least one TV set. The average home set is turned on more than six hours a day. The average child spends more hours learning about his world from TV than he would in earning a college degree."[26]

The only images of Blacks on television in the 40's and early 50's other than an occasional black entertainer on the Ed Sullivan Show, were Beulah, Amos 'n' Andy and the Rochester character on the Jack Benny Show. Rochester, was Mr. Benny's valet/butler in the ever popular comic servant role but his image was little more than that of a thinly disguised Coon. Beulah was a sit com (situation comedy) in which Ethel Waters portrayed a Mammy/Matriarch turned maid "...whose folksy humor was infused with sweet tempered homespun wisdom, while Amos 'n' Andy centered on a group of coon ghetto dwellers. Both were slatant throwbacks to the past."

Amos 'n' Andy was the most controversial of the three. The show was eventually taken off the air largely due to the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who stated their reasons in a bulletin:

"It tends to strengthen the conclusion among uniformed and prejudiced people that Negroes are inferioe, lazy, dumb and dishonest.

"Every character in this one and only TV show with an all Negro cast is either a clown or a crook.

"Negro doctors are shown as quacks and thieves.

"Negro lawyers are shown as slippery cowards, ignorant of their profession and without ethics.

"Negro women are shown as cackling, screaming shrews, in big-mouth close-ups, using street slang, just short of vulgarity.

"All Negroes are shown as dodging work of any kind.

"Millions of white Americans see this Amos 'n' Andy picture and think the entire race is the same..."[28]

Of the altered social consciousness following World War II, Bogle says, "Ironically, the integrationist movement carried with it the idea that blacks should assimilate into the dominant culture and forget their own ethnic background."[29] Television under the influence of this social thinking made an effort to correct the stereotyped black images of the past and presented a group of black images completely devoid of any ethnicity and black images became "white washed". Harry Belafonte describes these images as "Super Negroes"--that is, roles that are one-dimensional and have little relevance to black reality. Generally the characters they portray are admirable beyond plausability.[30] Men like Sidney Poitier and Bill Cosby played pleasant, well-dressed, well-spoken young men in their notable performances; Leslie Uggams was the picture of propriety and conventionality as she sang "along with Mitch." And who can forget Julia in which the model nurse and mother role was played so well by Diahann Carroll? The stereotypes of the Tom and Ingenue were present in these images, but they had been stripped of all ethnicity.

During this period material containing ethnicity (even unstereotyped ethnicity) was considered too controversial to be aired. For example, in the early 1960's Lorraine Hansberry was commissioned by NBC-TV to do a work for the commemoration of the Civil War Centennial. She wrote a play entitled The Drinking Gourd, which was a realistic assessment of slavery. It was praised by a top NBC official; Hansberry was paid well for her work and the play was put to rest in a file because it was "too controversial."[31]

Over the past few years we have seen more Blacks on prime time commercial television in basically two areas--advertising and programming. Although we are still present in large measure as entertainers, a traditionally accepted role for Blacks in mainstream media, the programs featuring Blacks that have received the most attention are the situation comedies such as Sanford and Son (NBC), That's My Mamma (ABC) and The Jeffersons (CBS). Controversy continues to surround these successful programs as Blacks debate the positive and negative images depicted by the characters. Some opinion has it that the characters are simply updated stereotypes who have exchanged the plantation for the ghetto or whose main goal in life is to duplicate white middle-class materialism as displayed in The Jeffersons.

Clay Goss in an article entitled "The Black Family and the Situation Comedy" does not feel that the images depicted are inherently negative and makes a case for the development and growth of the characters from season to season. He feels that the situation comedy should be meaningful and states:

"All one finally asks is that black situation comedies give us a well-rounded view into the black experience and life-style from a black American's unique perspective. That every week they bring not only their laughs into our lives but their humanity as well."[32]

Commercial television once in a while departs from its regular programming to present a special such as The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman, an excellent film chronicling the memories of a black woman through slavery and the era of the Civil Rights Movement. However, public television although not nearly as plentiful in its portrayal of black images as commercial television seems to provide images of greater depth and variety. Local public television stations make the decision to purchase these programs so the viewing varies from region to region depending on the sensitivity of the station management to the black public in its area. In the regions where sensitive management is evident or where well placed local pressure has been put into operation, Blacks enjoy such regular programming as Black Journal, Black Perspective on the News, and Interface, as well as the well known Sesame Street and The Electric Company. Public television also features many other programs which cover such topics as the "Nation of Islam," "apartheid in South Africa," and the state of black colleges in America and other presentations of well known black artists, such as Lorraine Hansberry, Alvin Ailey, and Maya Angelou.

THE PRINT MEDIA

Mainstream newspapers, magazines and advertising are also guilty of the sins of omission and commission with regard to the portrayal of Blacks. Prior to the Civil Rights struggle of the 60's black images in the print media were either negatively present or positively absent.

With regard to newspapers, Simpson and Yinger state:

"Every study of the Negro's treatment in the 'white' newspapers of the United States, regardless of period or region, has shown a heavy concentration upon crime news and only a slight attention to achievement."[33]

This low level of press coverage which has not changed significantly since the 60's and the negative nature of such coverage when and where it does exist tends to further reinforce the questionable stereotypes of Blacks which the American population gathers from other media sources. In addition, this practice by the press tends to further escalate the feelings of "invisibility" that many Blacks experience when they come in contact with whites who have been fed on stereotypes. Ralph Ellison in his book Shadow and Act states:

"In our society it is not unusual for a Negro to experience a sensation that he does not exist in the real world at all. He seems rather to exist in the nightmarish fantasy of the white

American mind as a phantom that the white mind seeks unceasingly, by means both crude and subtle, to slay."[34]

Basically the same situation exists with regards to magazines. When black characters appear in magazine stories they are usually assigned neutral parts or stereotyped roles. Articles featuring Blacks when they did appear usually told the story of those who had "made it" in accepted fields such as sports or entertainment. However, after Stokely Carmichael coined the phrase "Black Power", articles featuring ghetto activities, Black militants, and the revolution dominated both newspapers and magazines in such a way as to bring back images of the Black Buck, updated, of course, to include ammo belts, black berets, firearms and the closed fist salute.

Advertising methods can be a particularly potent way to create and reinforce stereotypes. Perhaps the most famous symbol of the black images in an ad is Aunt Jemima, whose round black face, dazzling teeth and bandana'd head sold pancake flour for years while at the same time reinforcing the image of the Mammy who is dedicated to cooking for and serving her "white" family.

Another familiar face used in ads is Uncle Ben, a kindly Tom whose friendly countenance and unassuming smile encouraged millions to buy converted rice. Then there were the Gold Dust Twins, two stylized pickaninnies who graced boxes of Gold Dust washing powder until the 1940's. Lenworth Gunther describes another ad by Singer Sewing Machines, dated 1892:

> "Africians dressed in some white artist's conception of what 'primitive' people wore in Zululand are gathered around a sister seated at a Singer sewing machine. The outfit the sister has produced is a modest, 'civilized' pink dress."[35]

When Blacks were not being stereotyped in advertising they were invisible. Products were sold either by healthy virile-looking white males or seductive blonde, blue-eyed white females who promised the "American Dream" with the purchase of the right product. Then advertisers "discovered" the black consumer and black ads were "in". These new ads closely resembled the super Negro image being portrayed at the same time in movies and TV. The men were well-dressed in the Ivy League style with close cut hair, and the women were light-skinned and thin with straight hair and "white" features. They, too, promised the "American Dream" with the purchase of the right product. Soon integrated ads began to appear and in every ad depicting a party or crowd scene we began to see at least one black face. At the same time the billboards in the ghettos which sold products such as beer and cigarettes by featuring macho white males and/or sexy white females were replaced by macho black males and/or sexy black females.

With the advent of the Blaxploitation Flicks the images of Blacks in the ads changed again--with men wearing Dashikis or Superfly outfits and sporting larger Afro hairstyles. Things changed for the women too, due in large measure to Cicely Tyson, a young actress who in 1959 made

her television debut wearing her hair in a "nature" (Afro), and in so doing touched off a major revolution among black women. They had devoted much effort to maintain the "straight look" -- with permanents and hot combs. Soon TV and commercial advertisements slowly and tentatively began featuring darker skinned women with Afro hair styles and distinctly African features. Stylish ethnicity was accepted and Madison Avenue in a spirit of equality has now begun to stereotype Blacks in the same way that they stereotype whites -- same images, same messages, but different colors.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MEDIA REFORM

1. The Print Media

The struggle for media reform has existed in the black community since the 1800's. Black people recognized early the need to create a black press if they were to have their history recorded, their accomplishments and achievements credited and their images portrayed accurately and fully.

The struggle began with the creation of a newspaper called, Freedom's Journal in 1920 and has grown to include a wide variety of organizations and alternate systems of communication that try to provide services to both black people and the white media. Some 40 black publications were in existence before the Civil War. By the early 1900's newspapers, such as The Philadelphia Tribune, The Afro-American, The Guardian, The Chicago Defender, The Amsterdam News and others were fighting valiantly against racial discrimination on all fronts from lynching to politics. Except for stories of black crime, black sports and entertainment figures, or stories which reinforced white stereotypes of Blacks there could be found little else of substance relating to Blacks in the white press.

After World War II, the black newspaper faded in importance and the black magazine took over. The Johnson Publishing Company, founded in 1942, engineered the rise of many magazines aimed at black audiences and provided them with news, research material, entertainment articles, and features which allowed Blacks to "see" themselves. There are at present a great many such magazines and professional journals serving a vital function in depicting varied images of Blacks and articulating their concerns with regard to their status in a country where the majority of the white controlled media does not or cannot relate to the needs of black people.

As a result of the renewed Civil Rights struggle of the 50's and 60's and the push for affirmative action as a means to combat racism the white press is being forced to take a look at itself and its treatment of an estimated 15 percent of the American populace -- Blacks. Now, more Blacks are beginning to be hired by white magazine publishers in an effort to accurately report black issues and news and newspapers, but according to Time Magazine (April 6, 1970):

> "Although the number of black journalists in the U.S. has increased over the past decade, less than 5% of all reporters and photographers are black. There is only one black

syndicated columnist. There are no black managing editors on white publications. Many newspapers, particularly in the South, employ no blacks at all, except as clerks or janitors. The Washington Post, with 19 blacks out of an editorial staff of 222, is the most "integrated" large daily newspaper. The New York Times (13 blacks out of 374 editorial employees), the San Francisco Chronicle (four out of 196), the St. Louis Dispatch (six out of 150) and the Detroit News (five out of 300) have more typical percentages."[36]

2. The Movies

Contrary to popular belief the black movies of the 70's was not the first effort of Blacks at filmmaking. When Blacks protested vociferously the film "Birth of a Nation" they were told that if they dislike the way Blacks were portrayed in mainstream films they should make their own, and many did just that. The effort to do this work resulted in the development of many "independent" production companies that formed an underground black film industry to serve Black Americans in the "ghetto" theatres. These independent film makers produced their films during the 20's and 30's and provided a host of black actors, writers, producers, technicians and directors with film work they could get nowhere else. David Bogle states:

> "According to film historian Robert Gripps in an article in Negro Digest, a rash of film companies grew to supply the seven hundred or so ghetto movie houses that had sprouted up by the late 1920's. In the years to come, more than one hundred firms and corporations were founded to produce Negro films."[37]

The black companies during their existence had financial, technical, and distribution problems, but they managed to serve black audiences until the lack of capital to keep up with technological advances in the industry and the advent of the Depression ended the first phase of the independent black film maker.

The Civil Rights struggle provided an impetus for progress on many fronts with regard to black issues and concerns. Filmmaking was no exception. Fred Beauford in an article entitled "Black Movies Create Box Office Magic" states that,

> "In 1963, the year of thousands of civil rights demonstrations, the assassination of Medgar Evers, the killing of four black girls in a Birmingham, Alabana church and the gigantic march on Washington, only 10 American motion pictures had black characters. Ten years later, more than 40 feature-length motion pictures featuring Blacks were made in just 18 months."[38]

The new crop of black film makers have turned out approximately 72 films since 1967. They sensed that the market for black films that existed during the 20's and 30's still exists and they are moving in to fill the demand with their productions. Despite the criticism that

many of these bilms receive, due to their "blood and guts" nature, they are a healthy development in the struggle by black people to have more control over the way they are portrayed by the media. These films have enabled many Blacks to move away from being in front of the camera as "stars" and to move into the business side of the industry by becoming producers and distributors. They are serving as a vehicle to allow Blacks to learn the economics of the business so that more of the money made by black films goes into black pockets.

Many of the early black films of the 20's and 30's as well as those being made by Blacks today are guilty of the same stereotyped conceptions that white film makers are accused of. However, as black film makers refine the economics of the business and are able to finance their productions completely, more films of quality will be made showing a much greater depth and range of realistic black images and, hopefully, the Blaxploitation flicks will be no more. Don A. Williams, a black producer concurs. He states,

> "I don't think you will be able to throw anything up there and call it a movie, the way some people are doing now. The people will begin to demand quality. I think that in the future the main issue will be quality."[39]

3. The Electronic Media

The regulation of the electronic media is unique. The airways, by law, belong to the taxpaying public and broadcasters are granted a license to use those airways "in the public interest". The authorization and use of the licenses are regulated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) created by Congress in 1934. Broadcast licenses are usually renewed every 3 years by the FCC if the broadcaster has not misused the public trust and has abided by Commission regulations. Failure to do so can result in the loss of the license to operate the station. Ideally this fact, which provides for redress by the "public" should have made media reform in this area easier but until July 5, 1972 when Benjamin L. Hooks became the first Black to serve on the Commission little was accomplished in the way of media reform in radio and TV from the standpoint of black people.

With the appointment of Commissioner Hooks, Blacks stepped up their media reform efforts by pressuring mainstream media to deal with institutional racism and by setting up means to service their own needs. As in the case of newspapers, magazines and movies, Blacks realized the necessity to compensate for the lack of service provided by the white media.

There are two black radio networks in operation at present. The Mutual Black Network is the oldest. It was formed in May 1972; its message is carried through 99 affiliate stations throughout the country and all material is written, produced and delivered by Blacks who work through bureaus in New York, Washington, D.C., and Chicago, the affiliates, UPI, AP and Reuters In addition to news, the Mutual Black Network offers a variety of public affairs and entertainment programming.

The National Black Network, in operation since July 1973 is another large news service, also black controlled and oriented with 76 affiliate stations. The NBN features not only the use of the national wire services, but also has an exclusive arrangement for special audio reports covering events in Africa, and the Caribbean. In addition to the news and public affairs program, produced by NBN, "The Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee Story Hour"-a unique one hour weekly series of poetry, folklore, historical anecdotes, and music is featured.

The Community News Service, based in New York City, can boast of being the only news service in the country that is headed by a black woman. This news service is a unique non-profit organization which provides major media, similar to the New York Times, Newsweek magazine, and WNBC-TV, with up to date information on events, opinions and developing trends from New York's minority communities. Its main purpose is to increase the sensitivity and completeness with which established news media report the concerns of minority communities in the New York area and, by example, the nation as a whole.

Another effort to deal with the electronic media has been the development of citizen action groups. These groups are beginning to have an impact on news and public affairs programming on the local level through negotiation and the threat of a challenge to the broadcaster's license. Many of these groups, after communication with each other, felt a need to band together to begin work on a national level and as a result the National Black Media Coalition came into being in November 1973. The NBMC has 61 group affiliates in 51 cities. It has turned out dozens of research studies, materials for use by local media action groups in monitoring station performance, and a "how-to-do-it" booklet on TV and radio negotiations and license challenging called "Liberating Black Minds from Racism in Broadcasting."

These efforts at media reform and the media's response are necessary steps on a long road to full and equitable portrayal of Blacks in all phases of the media. The last strongholds are in the area of employment and ownership, for as long as control of the majority of the mainstream media remains in the hands of white men alone any image changes in news, programming and advertising will be token and piecemeal. It will only be when sensitive black people can increase their ownership of mass communication systems or are employed on the policy and decision-making levels within the mainstream media that concrete and lasting changes will be made.

CONCLUSION

When a television set is out of focus one can adjust the controls and usually this clears up the problem right away, but when ideas and images projected by that same set come through blurred and distorted we have a far more serious situation. Extend this concept to include the entire range of the media in America and the problem of blurred and distorted ideas and images takes on tremendous significance and the solution becomes difficult and complex.

Americans are a nation of television viewers, movie goers, radio listeners, magazine and newspaper readers and much of what we learn about ourselves, our world and other people comes from what we read and hear and see. The vibrations of the media are among the nation's most powerful, social and psychological forces. The media informs, educates, entertains and most importantly it can and does influence much of our social thinking and the behavior that can result from that thinking.

An example of this is the prejudice and bigotry exhibited toward Blacks which has been perpetuated generation after generation by the creation and reinforcement of negative images, myths, and stereotypes, which influence not only what others think of Blacks, but also what Blacks think about themselves.

The black woman in America experiences a peculiar kind of difficulty and frustration, for not only is she Black--she is also female--and because of this "double jeopardy" finds herself facing sexual discrimination as well as racial oppression. This is nowhere as evident as in the area of mass communications where for all intents and purpose the achievements, accomplishments and struggles of black women are doubly invisible; and where her image is seen, it is almost always doubly distorted and doubly negative.

Basic to any person's growth and development as a fully actualized human is a healthy dose of self-worth and self-respect. These necessary components come in large measure from having positive feelings about the way one looks and behaves. These feelings are challenged, approved or reinforced for us by others (society).

Each society sets its own standards of attractiveness and behavior. In America, the ideal standard of beauty is the blonde, blue-eyed woman with attractive regular features and a shapely body. This ideal of the "American Girl" is communicated to all of us through advertising, radio, TV, magazines, newspapers, and movies, to such an extent that there is little room for deviation. The black woman through media imagery has been victimized by the socialized process of being "shown and told" until she perceives that she is the exact antithesis of the American standard. No matter how beautiful she might be considered in a different environment with different standards--she is American and is influenced by what happens to her on a daily basis in America, and this society teaches her that she is "ugly".

Black women, heeding these lessons taught to them by the media since their youth, have spent many years and countless dollars on bleaching creams and hair straightening products trying in vain to match the "American" standard of beauty. One result of these fruitless efforts has been the development of a deep well of self-loathing and negative self-images among black women. Even though the "natural" or "Afro" has found acceptance and the phrase "Black is beautiful" is heard more and more, old lessons are hard to unlearn and relatively few black women are sincerely feeling that black is beautiful if it includes dark skin, thick lips and kinky hair.

The accepted behavioral role for a woman in American society despite recent objections and movement toward change by feminists is still the image of the housewife and mother. A quick survey of a few statistics will show that the majority of black women cannot approximate this ideal either. For example, black women make up 52.6 percent of the entire black population and due to the additional effects of racism and discrimination on black men (suicide, confinement in prisons, and the high percentage of black men killed in wars) there are simply not enough men to go around. In 1970, census data showed that only 42 percent of all black women were married with spouse present, which means that the majority of black women are divorced, widowed, or single.

Identifying with the image of white feminity is an excercise in self-hate for black women. Identifying with the images of black feminity as portrayed by the media is just as bad. The Mammy/Matriarch is fat, sexless and alternately slavelike or forbidding; the Seductress and the Sex Object role models are hardly positive ones in this society. The Tragic Mulatto is pitiful and the Tough Mamma image, although it might "feel good" because it is so different and reflects the ultimate in self-determining behavior is hardly a realistic lifestyle to follow. Many black women do pattern themselves after the Docile Damsel, burying themselves in this role because it does allow them a measure of acceptance from both black and white society. Perhaps they will never reach the "American" ideal, but they can at least be "real women" i.e., submissive, sacrificial, and self-effacing.

With the advent of the Civil Rights struggle and the resultant explosion of cultural and historical material on Blacks this state of affairs for black women became even more difficult because it was the achievements of black men that were highlighted. This was a natural development in a patriarchal society but even though it was not purposeful discrimination against black women it was oppressive nonetheless.

Positive models of black womanhood do not have to be invented. There are many positive images and models for black women to identify with in their cultural past, both in African and American history. These records of strong, independent, loving beautiful women, according to Gerda Lerner in Black Women in White America...

> "...lie buried, unread, infrequently noticed and even more seldom interpreted. Their names and their achievements are known to only a few specialists. The papers of outstanding figures such as Mary McCloud Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Nannie Burroughs are scattered in various libraries, have never been edited or even partially published. There have been few biographies of black women of the past, fewer monographs, no scholarly interpretive works. The organizational records of black women's organizations are equally scattered, unclassified and unused."[40]

This information needs to be unearthed, collected, catagorized, interpreted, published and disseminated. The effects of such an undertaking could be widespread and result in the development of mainstream media projects that could give balanced, in depth, positive portrayals of

black women and their contribution to history. Due consideration would be given to new research efforts in order to determine the effects of racism and sexism on the minds and lives of black women and the effort made to create funding sources which would enable black women to develop projects aimed at telling their own stroies via books, papers, educational firms, displays and videotapes.

In the final analysis, it is not the fault of the media that bigoted attitudes and prejudices exist (those have been with us for centuries) but the media does reflect and reinforce the myths and stereotypes which feed these attitudes and misinform whites about Blacks as well as mis-educating Blacks about Blacks.

It is to be hoped that the media can be persuaded to accept a new set of values, develop the interest and find the time to deal with the problem fully and directly for the sake of all of us.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenworth Gunther, "Everybody's Happy," Encore, July 1973, p.37.

2. George Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, Harper and Row, 1958, p.705.

3. David Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks, Bantam Press, 1974, p.3, quoted by State Senator Wilbur G. Smith (Conn.), "Blacks in American Motion Pictures - A Case for Genocide," Eastern State Connecticut College, p.7 (unpublished paper).

4. Bogle, p.8.

5. Bogle, p.16.

6. Bogle, p.337.

7. Liz Grant, "Ain't Beulah Dead Yet?" Essence, May 1974, p.72.

8. Gunther, p.40.

9. Grant, p.61.

10. Grant, p.67.

11. Simpson and Yinger, p.711.

12. Edward Mapp, "The Black Woman in Films," The Black Scholar, March-April 1973, p.43.

13. Mapp, p.42.

14. Mapp. p.42.

15. David Bogle, "Black Humor," Ebony, August 1975, p.126.

16. Margaret Edmondson Sloan, "Keeping the Black Women in Her Place," MS., January 1975, p.31.

17. Laura Greene, "A Bad Black Image in Film," Essence, May 1973, p.70.

18. Fred Beauford, "Black Movies Create Box Office Magic," Black Enterprise, September 1973, p.49.

19. Molly Haskell, "Here Come the Killer Dames," New York, May 1975, pp. 46-47.

20. Sloan, p.31.

21. Simpson and Yinger, p.714.

22. Elmer Carter, "Policies and Practices of Discrimination Commissions," pp. 70-71, quoted in Simpson and Yinger, p.714.

23. Lyman Bryson and Dorothy Rowden, "Radio as an Agency of National Unity," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

24. Bryson and Rowden, in Simpson and Yinger, p.715.

25. Jean Williams, "Senator Bond Blasts Radio," Billboard, August 23, 1975

26. Ebony Photo-Editorial, "What Blacks Can Do About TV." Ebony, p.166. (author's copy available.)

27. Bogle, in Ebony, p. 126.

28. "Why the Amos 'n' Andy TV Show Should Be Taken Off the Air," News from the NAACP, August 15, 1951, quoted in Simpson and Yinger, p.716.

29. Bogle, in Ebony, p. 126.

30. "Situation Report," Time, April 6, 1970, p.59.

31. To Be Young, Gifted and Black, "A Portrait of Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words," (National Education Television), CPTV-Channel 24, Hartford, Conn., 1975.

32. Clay Goss, "The Black Family and the Situation Comedy," the Washington Post, Sunday, August 24, 1975, H6.

33. Simpson and Yinger, p. 716.

34. Ralph Ellison, Shadow and Act, Signet Books, 1966, p.290.

35. Gunther, p.42.

36. "Situation Report," Time, April 6, 1970, p.89.

37. David Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks, quoted in "Looking Back on Blacks in Films," Ebony, June 1973, p.42.

38. Beauford, p.49.

39. Beauford, p.53.

40. Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America, Random House, 1973, p.xvii.

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APPENDIX

Educational & Occupational Statistics on Black Women

Compiled by:
Edmina C. Lee

Table 1

PERCENT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL FOR THE POPULATION 14-34 YEARS OLD, BY AGE, SEX, AND RACE: OCTOBER 1964 to OCTOBER 1974

YEAR	age						
	14 & 15	16 & 17	18 & 19	20 & 21	22 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34
					(Black Female)		
1974	97.9	84.2	42.1	20.1	9.0	7.7	4.8
1973	96.5	86.4	32.8	17.3	11.1	5.5	3.8
1972	97.3	90.1	38.7	17.9	8.5	5.9	6.5
1971	99.0	88.4	43.1	24.1	10.1	4.2	4.2
1970	97.2	85.9	38.9	18.9	6.7	3.6	3.3
1969	97.7	84.3	40.1	19.6	6.9	5.5	3.7
1968	96.9	84.3	38.6	14.5	8.3	1.5	3.2
1967	95.8	81.6	34.0	18.5	5.6	6.1	1.5
1966	96.5	83.1	30.3	9.3	3.6	2.0	2.0
1965	97.6	85.6	32.5	8.0	7.8	1.7	2.4
1964	95.0	80.6	31.7	13.7	3.8	2.8	2.0
					(Black Male)		
1974	96.1	90.1	46.1	27.2	16.0	10.4	9.7
1973	96.9	89.0	43.5	24.5	13.9	6.9	6.5
1972	97.6	88.9	47.7	27.1	18.4	7.3	5.2
1971	97.7	90.0	50.7	31.3	12.9	8.5	6.4
1970	98.0	85.4	41.3	27.8	9.6	6.1	3.6
1969	98.0	87.4	49.5	28.4	10.7	2.8	2.9
1968	98.5	88.5	53.1	23.4	7.5	5.2	3.4
1967	96.5	86.7	48.6	24.5	9.0	3.5	3.5
1966	98.2	87.4	46.3	14.4	9.1	2.6	2.7
1965	98.7	82.2	47.5	18.5	4.3	2.6	2.3
1964	98.8	84.3	39.9	14.2	3.8	3.5	4.0

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 284.

ENROLLMENT STATUS OF THE POPULATION 14-34 YEARS OLD
OCTOBER 1974

Table 2
(Percentages)

Age & Sex	Enrolled in School: Below College	Enrolled in School: In College	Not Enrolled in School: Hi School Graduate	Not Enrolled in School: Not High School Graduate
BLACKS				
Male:				
14 & 15	96.1	-	-	3.9
16 & 17	87.8	2.3	1.6	8.3
18 & 19	24.6	21.5	27.0	26.9
20 & 21	2.2	25.5	47.2	25.1
22 - 24	1.4	14.6	61.4	22.6
25 - 29	0.8	9.6	65.8	23.9
30 - 34	-	9.7	56.3	34.0
Female:				
14 & 15	97.7	0.2	-	2.1
16 & 17	80.4	3.8	3.2	12.6
18 & 19	17.4	24.7	37.7	20.2
20 & 21	2.0	18.1	53.0	26.9
22 - 24	0.9	8.1	62.7	28.3
25 - 29	0.5	7.2	63.8	28.5
30 - 34	1.2	3.6	57.3	37.9
WHITES				
Male:				
14 & 15	98.2	0.1	-	1.8
16 & 17	84.7	3.5	2.4	9.4
18 & 19	10.5	35.0	37.1	17.4
20 & 21	0.7	34.3	50.6	14.4
22 - 24	0.2	19.0	67.8	12.9
25 - 29	0.3	12.5	73.4	13.8
30 - 34	0.2	6.1	74.2	19.4
Female:				
14 & 15	97.9	-	0.1	1.9
16 & 17	83.6	4.1	3.3	9.1
18 & 19	6.0	33.9	46.2	13.9
20 & 21	0.5	26.1	59.1	14.2
22 - 24	0.2	11.1	74.0	14.7
25 - 29	0.2	6.4	77.6	15.9
30 - 34	0.2	4.4	74.9	20.5

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 286.

COLLEGE ENROLLMENT OF THE 1971 FRESHMAN CLASS
OCTOBER 1971 TO OCTOBER 1974

Table 3

Race and Sex	Freshman (1971)	Sophomore (1972)	Junior (1973)	Senior (1974)
White: Male	100.0	87.2	64.0	61.3
White: Female	100.0	74.0	55.7	52.1
Black: Male	100.0	83.3	64.0	47.4
Black: Female	100.0	70.3	58.5	34.7

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 286.

Table 4

MEDIAN DOLLAR EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME YEAR-ROUND WOMEN WORKERS, AND PERCENT OF MINORITY RACE WOMEN IN OCCUPATION GROUP, 1973

Occupation	Median Income (All races)	Minority Races[1] 16-34	35 & over
Total: Percent		100.0	100.0
White-collar workers		54.5	31.5
Professional, technical workers	$9,093	13.5	11.6
Managers, administrators (except farm)	7,667	2.6	2.9
Sales workers	4,650	2.9	2.0
Clerical workers	6,469	35.5	15.0
Craft & kindred workers	6,144	0.8	1.2
Operatives (including transport)	5,358	16.9	14.5
Service workers (except private household)	4,588	20.3	29.8
Private household workers	2,069	6.0	20.9
Nonfarm laborers	4,956	0.9	1.1
Farm laborers and supervisors	-	0.6	1.0

SOURCE: 1) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 93.

2) U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report No. 164.

[1] Includes American Indians and Asians, as well as Blacks, who constituted 89% of all minority races in the U.S. in 1970.

Table 5

1974 MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY SEX, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND REGION

(Year-Round Full-Time Workers)

Subject	Men	Women
BLACK		
United States	8,705	5,370
South	7,411	4,306
North and West	10,491	6,874
WHITE		
United States	12,434	8,794
South	11,508	7,988
North and West	12,782	9,161
RATIO: BLACK TO WHITE		
United States	0.70	0.61
South	0.64	0.54
North and West	0.82	0.75

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, Bureau of Census.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES AS A FUNCTION OF YEARS OF SCHOOL

Completed: March, 1974

Years of School Completed	Women		Men	
	Black	White	Black	White
Total: Percent	47.7	44.8	72.5	75.5
Less than 4 years High School	35.8	31.4	63.2	64.3
High School: 4 years	59.7	50.5	88.2	87.8
College: 1 year or more	68.8	56.7	83.2	86.3

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report, No. 176.

Table 7

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AS A FUNCTION OF YEARS OF SCHOOL

Years of School Completed	Women		Men	
	Black	White	Black	White
Total: Percent	9.5	5.6	10.0	4.3
Less than 4 years High School	11.8	8.9	11.3	6.7
High School: 4 years	9.3	5.0	9.0	3.8
College: 1 year or more	5.2	3.5	7.8	2.5

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Special Labor Force Report, No. 176.

Volume I of this two volume set contains the recommendations made by the participants at this Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Black Women.

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